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The Southwestern Frontier, 1795-1817: An Essay in Social History

BY WILLIAM B. HAMILTON

The Natchez district, by the treaty of San Lorenzo (1795), became the spearhead of the American movement westward. It penetrated significantly into the territories of Spain, which lay to the west across the Mississippi River, and to the south on the thirty-first parallel. The Chickasaw and Choctaw nations and hundreds of miles of wilderness separated it at the rear from Nashville and the American settlements.

This distant outpost of American government possesses especial interest for the social historian both as a meeting ground of Latin and Anglo-American civilizations and as a frontier vanguard holding out tenuous contacts with the main body of the American advance. This paper essays a survey of its principal cultural activities and institutions during the first two decades of American government, with this thesis: on the economic bases of staple-crop cotton and river trade, a heterogeneous population evolved a culture fundamentally English in its inspiration and highly developed enough to be at variance with the traditional picture of a frontier.¹

When Spain evacuated the district, March 30, 1798,² she left few traces of her twenty-year tenure. Of the 7,500 persons³ present in 1801,

¹ Pertinent data and some significant generalizations on this subject can be found in Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham, 1938).

² *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott, Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States . . . For Determining the Boundary between the United States and the Possessions of His Catholic Majesty in America* (Philadelphia, 1803), 176.

³ In round numbers. *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States: According to "An Act providing for the second census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," Passed February the 28th, One Thou-*

a negligible number were Spanish in blood. The population was primarily of the stocks of the British Isles and of central and western Africa. The rapid increase of immigration, which raised the figure to 35,000 in 1816, made no appreciable change in this fundamental fact, except that the proportion of Africans became larger.⁴

But within these basic stocks, together with French and miscellaneous elements, there was room for such diversity of origin and experience that the population can be characterized as cosmopolitan. No one troubled to record the place of origin and racial composition of the darker skinned inhabitants; the slave who had been the Moorish son of an African king could hardly be represented as typical.⁵ But the following borings are indicative. Group migrations from New England and New Jersey in the English period contributed substantially to the planting and ruling families: the Lymans, the Swayzes, the Smiths, and the Lewises.⁶ The Revolution sent Tory and Whig alike as refugees. Both came chiefly from the southern colonies, but the migration of Bernard Lintot from Connecticut indicates that the loyalist strain⁷ came from the northern colonies as well as southern, and that this element attained economic and political power in the region.

Among a group who had served under George Rogers Clark in the Northwest was John Girault, born in London of Huguenot parents,

sand Eight Hundred (Washington, 1802), 85, gives 7,412; the MS. schedules in Mississippi Territorial Archives (Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi), Series A, Volume 25, add up to 7,530.

⁴ This figure includes only the river counties, with Franklin and Amite, in order to correspond more closely with bounds of the old Natchez district. The figures are suspect, since they were taken in the heat of a controversy over the division of the territory. Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 11 vols. to date (Washington, 1934-), VI, *Mississippi Territory* (1938), 720.

⁵ Charles S. Sydnor, "The Biography of a Slave," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902-), XXXVI (1936), 59-73.

⁶ See, *inter alia*, Connecticut Historical Society, *Two Putnams, Israel and Rufus, in the Havana Expedition, 1762, and in the Mississippi River Exploration, 1772-73, with Some Account of the Company of Military Adventurers* (Hartford, 1931); Cecil Johnson, "Expansion in West Florida, 1770-1779," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XX (1934), 481-96.

⁷ John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis, 1866), 23 ff.; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Loyalists of West Florida and the Natchez District," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings* (Cedar Rapids, 1907-1924), VIII (1915), 102-122.

notary under the French at Kaskaskia, and translator of the records the Spanish left at Natchez.⁸ Pierre Surget, a Frenchman, founded a wealthy family on capital made in trade in the Indies.⁹ Jean Marie Chotard came from Brittany by way of Santo Domingo.¹⁰ There was a German colony headed by William Brune,¹¹ a merchant whose store formed a sort of "change for the transaction of business."¹² Peter Bryan Bruin, judge of the supreme court, revolutionary officer, refugee from the wrath of the English in Ireland,¹³ met numbers of his countrymen, "restless and intriguing Irishmen."¹⁴

The Scots were present in quantity. They even formed in southeast Jefferson County such a distinct entity that the area became known as New Scotland. Here the Torreys, McLaughlins, Curries, McIntyres, and Camerons built their excellent churches and decent schools, and many of them continued to speak their native Gaelic as late as 1846.¹⁵ William Dunbar was the leading scientist of the territory; John Henderson, author of the first non-legal "book" printed in the territory, was a native of Greenock, Scotland;¹⁶ and David Ker, who had been the first acting head of the University of North Carolina, represented the Scots of Dublin.

⁸ H. W. Roberts (ed.), "A Voice from the Past: Letters of Jean Girault Relating to the Illinois Country," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, 1908-), XVIII (1926), 636-57.

⁹ Goodspeed Publishing Company, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1891), II, 868.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 542.

¹¹ Felix Fluegel (ed.), "Pages from a Journal of a Voyage Down the Mississippi in 1817," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (New Orleans, 1917-), VII (1924), 414-40.

¹² John F. H. Claiborne to Paul A. Botto, editor of the Natchez *Daily Democrat and Courier*, October 13, 1874, printed in that paper, October 18, 1874.

¹³ Manuel Gayoso de Lemos to Baron de Carondelet, May 16, 1792, copy in Spanish Transcripts in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), 281.

¹⁴ A report by Gayoso de Lemos on political conditions in Louisiana, July 5, 1792; Gayoso de Lemos to ———, March 31, 1795, in Spanish Transcripts in Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

¹⁵ C. W. Grafton, "A Sketch of the Old Scotch Settlement at Union Church," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (Oxford-Jackson, 1898-1925), IX (1906), 263-71; John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, 2 vols. (New York, 1848), I, 405-406.

¹⁶ Charles S. Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), I (1935), 49-55.

The immigrants from the older states sometimes showed a similar clannishness. If there was a Jersey settlement there were likewise one or two communities of Marylanders: the Rawlings, the Covingtons, the Waileases, the Chews, the Freeland, and the Magruder.¹⁷

United States army officers, especially after the reduction of the army in 1802, added themselves to the upper crust of the population, among them Andrew Marschalk, a New York Dutchman, first printer in the territory. The collapse of Aaron Burr's expedition in 1806 left his adventurers stranded, the most notable among them being that unfortunate Irishman, Harman Blennerhassett.

All these strains leavened the general mass of settlers, who were largely of the mixture which peopled the southern colonies. French Huguenots, Negro thieves, Scotch Highlanders, up-county Germans, cadets of the Virginia houses, the Regulators, plain English evangelicals, half-pay British colonial officers, poured in from Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The eight or more European strains not only freely intermarried with each other, but also practiced miscegenation with the various African peoples.¹⁸ If there is also added the mixture of both whites and Negroes with the Choctaw Indians, it may be said that the population of the Natchez district was colorful.

By a historical coincidence, the region was acquiring an economic base to support a culture in exactly the same years in which American sovereignty was being asserted. The cotton gin on Whitney's principles was introduced into the Natchez district in 1795,¹⁹ the year of the treaty

¹⁷ John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, 1880), 259; John A. Watkins, "The Mississippi Panic of 1813," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV (1901), 485.

¹⁸ Will of James Fitzgerald, June 20, 1812. Copy in the papers of John Bisland (used at "Mt. Repose," Adams County; now in the Louisiana State University Library); MS. Journal of the House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory, entry of December 29, 1813, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; petition of William Barland (to the Assembly), December, 1814. Mississippi Territorial Archives, Series D, Volume 38.

¹⁹ Benjamin L. C. Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi, Embracing a Sketch of the Social and Natural History of the State* (Jackson, 1854), 167.

of San Lorenzo. By 1798, the year of Spain's evacuation, cotton had become a staple crop.²⁰

It is not in the purview of this paper to detail the economic life of the district. Suffice it to say that it was prosperous enough in the entire period under review to support a significant number of civilized activities. But it may be noted as indicative of the mind and progressiveness of the people that they raised a wide variety of food for man and beast; that they exhibited considerable ingenuity in developing new strains of cotton, in adopting contour plowing, and in experimenting with the uses of cotton seed; and that they developed their own circulating medium and financed their own banking house.

With a source of income assured, the district became a growing market for luxury goods such as foreign wine and spirits. In 1800-1801 it was estimated that the annual consumption of tea, at two and one-half to three and one-half dollars a pound, ran to two thousand pounds. The tea and the toddies were sweetened with one hundred thousand pounds of sugar at nineteen cents. The American taste for coffee ran to fifty thousand pounds at fifty cents. On queen's ware china were served preserves, spices, anchovies, capers, and pimentoes. The lady of a planter who had by no means begun as an aristocrat had already developed a fondness for blue cashmere cloth at three dollars and a half a yard. A cargo shipped from Bordeaux in 1801 to a Natchez merchant and valued at over 144,000 francs consisted principally of luxuries such as men's white silk stockings, playing cards, kid gloves, writing paper, wall paper, soap, and almonds.²¹

Commercial towns, and especially seaports, in the western world have usually afforded a place to exchange ideas as well as goods. The

²⁰ William Dunbar to John Ross, August 21, 1797, in Extracts [by B. L. C. Wailes] from the Letter Book of William Dunbar (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); *Journal of Andrew Ellicott*, 134.

²¹ William Dunbar to David Ross, November 21, 1800, in Extracts from the Letter Book of William Dunbar; Winthrop Sargent to Timothy Pickering, September 29, 1798, in Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *The Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1903*, 1 vol. published (Nashville, 1905), I, 56; advertisements in *Green's Impartial Observer* (Natchez), January 24, 1801; bills in the Bisland Papers (Louisiana State University Library); Mack B. Swearingen, "Luxury at Natchez in 1801: A Ship's Manifest from the McDonogh Papers," in *Journal of Southern History*, III (1937), 189.

great river made of Natchez such a town. Indeed, with the closing of the deposit in New Orleans, Natchez in 1802 and 1803 enjoyed a brief period of direct trade with the east and Europe in ocean-going vessels.²²

Natchez led a double life. Down at the docks huddled Natchez-under-the-Hill, whose salient features would be familiar to any frequenter of Port Said or the docks of the Thames. Occasionally unusual exuberance in that quarter would make it necessary to call out the troops and marshal the cannon on the bluff.²³ The younger town above, laid out by Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos soon after 1790, presented a somewhat different picture. It no doubt guzzled imported liquors, and gambled at three-up and loo like its old reprobate parent below, but it preserved its reputation at the same time.

From about one hundred houses in 1797, most of them painted in colors but not otherwise remarkable, the town numbered almost four times as many twenty years later, some of them brick, and tastefully done, with iron work and balconies which to one visitor made the place reminiscent of a West Indian town. The unpaved streets were shaded by pride of China trees.²⁴

²² Report by the Secretary of the Treasury on import duties, in the Breckinridge Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Whitaker, *Mississippi Question*, 147; *Times Tablet and Mississippi Gazette* (Natchez), September 18, 1833.

²³ Governor David Holmes to Captain David Becket, March 19, 1811, MS. Executive Journal of the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, 1810-1814, pp. 101-102, in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Natchez *Mississippi Republican*, May 28, 1817.

²⁴ Descriptions of Natchez during the period may be found in Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797 . . . With a Memoir of the Author* (London, 1856), 279; S[amuel] M[cCorkle] to Samuel Steele, June 7, 1800, in the Flowers Collection (Duke University Library); Zadok Cramer (ed.), *The Navigator, Containing Directions for Navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers . . .* (Fifth edition, Pittsburgh, 1806), 71. Cramer fixed his ideas of what Natchez looked like in the sixth edition of this work (1808), and maintained them for the next twelve years. See, also, Henry Ker, *Travels Through the Western Interior of the United States, From the Year 1808 Up to the Year 1816 . . .* (Elizabethton, N. J., 1816), 41-42; Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour of the Western Country . . . Commenced . . . in 1807 and Concluded in 1809*, in Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 vols. (Cleveland, 1904), IV, 321-23; Alexander Wilson to Alexander Lawson, May 18, 1810, in Alexander B. Grosart, *Memoir and Remains of Alexander Wilson, the American Ornithologist . . .* (Paisley, 1876), 216-18; Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage . . . Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808 . . .*, 2 vols. (New York, 1810), II, 132 ff.; Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer; or Emigrant's Directory . . .* (Auburn, N. Y., 1817), 234-35.

It was at Natchez that the first printing press in the region was established in 1799. But unfortunately it formed a very compatible marriage with politics rather than becoming a handmaiden to the arts. Its products were political handbills, political pamphlets, and newspapers. The first newspaper was published some time before February 10, 1800.²⁵ These sheets printed some mean local poetry, but they reveal that if there was literary ability in the Natchez district it expressed itself in oratory or political venom.

It was at Natchez that a live and vigorous theater existed. In February, 1806, Natchez enjoyed what seems to have been the first public theatrical performance in English in the Old Southwest. In 1808 the Natchez Theatrical Association fitted up the old Spanish hospital and met with such success that it was able to build a new theater in 1813. Within a decade this association and traveling companies presented about seventy-five plays, pantomimes, and after-pieces. The Natchez taste ran principally to Restoration and eighteenth century English plays, or eighteenth century English adaptations of continental drama.²⁶

Natchez was also the chief center of book sales in the region. There is considerable evidence that the frontiersman, whether he read them or not, owned and purchased books. Among the books in Ezekiel Forman's small library on St. Catherine's Creek in 1795 were *The Spectator*, a volume of plays, "Edward's Geography," and a couple of dictionaries. In the same year, Anthony Hutchins ordered from his London agent *The Curate of Coventry*, *The Sorrows of Werter*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Night Thoughts*, some magazines, and "a portable French dictionary."²⁷ William Winans, a leading Methodist circuit rider, carried in his saddlebags Black's *Chemistry*, Paley's *Evidences of the Christian Religion*,

²⁵ Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," in *loc. cit.*, 49-55; William B. Hamilton, "The Printing of the 1799 Laws of the Mississippi Territory," in *Journal of Mississippi History* (Jackson, 1939-), II (1940), 88-99; Sargent to Pickering, February 10, 1800, in Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I, 207.

²⁶ William B. Hamilton, "The Theater in the Old Southwest: The First Decade at Natchez," in *American Literature* (Durham, 1929-), XII (1941), 471-85.

²⁷ Inventory of the effects and property of Ezekiel Forman, Spanish Records in the office of the Chancery Clerk, Natchez, Book 32; Hutchins to John Miller, 1795, in Claiborne Papers, Book E, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

and Burnett's *Life of Rochester*. Winans preferred Young and Cowper to Pope as more moral.²⁸ The newspapers contained advertisements of booksellers throughout the period.²⁹ In 1815 an embryo state library was founded when the legislature ordered the purchase of certain reference works.³⁰ Lists of books indicate that the Natchez district possessed the standard authors of literate Englishmen, including contemporaries such as Scott and Byron, and the current English and Scottish periodicals.

In Natchez centered the activities of the Mississippi Society for the Acquirement and Dissemination of Useful Knowledge, the most vigorous and long-lived of half a dozen literary and library societies. Incorporated in November, 1803, for the purpose of "acquiring and disseminating useful information in natural science and primarily agriculture,"³¹ the society had some interesting members. Isaac Briggs was the Quaker surveyor-general of the public lands in the district. The several medical doctors included Garrett Elliott Pendergrast, graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, member of the American Linnean Society, and author of *A Physical and Topographical Sketch of the Mississippi Territory, Lower Louisiana, and a Part of West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1803). Nathaniel A. Ware, secretary of the territory for two years, was later to turn his hand to novels and neo-mercantilistic writings.³² But the most fertile and stimulating mind was that of William Dunbar, a planter who devoted himself to amateur science. His catholic activities will not be catalogued here, but it is suggestive to note that he was the author of fifteen papers in the publications of the American Philosophical Society, to membership in which he was nominated by

²⁸ Winans' MS. autobiography and journal are in the collections of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

²⁹ E.g., *Natchez Mississippi [sic] Herald*, September 28, 1802; *Natchez Mississippi Messenger*, October 7, November 8, 1806, February 17, 1807; *Natchez Weekly Chronicle*, December 7, 1808, June 24, 1809; *Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, October 4, 1817.

³⁰ Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes*, 127-28.

³¹ MS. Journal of the House of Representatives, 1803 (Mississippi Department of Archives and History).

³² William Diamond, "Nathaniel A. Ware, National Economist," in *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 501-526.

Andrew Ellicott³³ and Thomas Jefferson. For the latter he explored part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1804.³⁴

Another type of member of the Mississippi Society is exemplified by four of the founders, Benjamin Farrar, John Ellis, William Connor, and Philander Smith. They were all very old settlers, very rich planters, and neighbors of Dunbar on Second Creek. These and other country gentlemen participated in the life of Natchez and lent their support to its social institutions. This fact makes it clear why Natchez, a village of 1,500 inhabitants in 1810, could sustain varied cultural activities. It was simply the focal point of a rich rural community. As in England, one *lived* in the country; one might do business in the town, or even exist there for a period, but the roots of the people were nourished in country estates. Perhaps a more apt comparison might be one with Charleston and the Low Country. So to Natchez the planters in the surrounding area and the officials from the capital at Washington, six miles northeast, rode in to transact business, to attend meetings of the Society or the Jockey Club, to be present at dancing assemblies or public dinners, to attend the theater, or to scan the papers and magazines at the coffee-house or reading room.³⁵

It is not intended to imply that everyone lived in a dwelling that could be dignified with the name of country seat, or that the country seats were all mansions of elegance, especially in comparison with their English prototypes or the Hudson River estates of the patroons. But the possession of a country house, and a handsome one at that, with

³³ Ellicott to the Society, June 16, 1799, MS. draft in Ellicott Correspondence (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

³⁴ See Franklin L. Riley, "Sir William Dunbar—The Pioneer Scientist of Mississippi," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, II (1899), 83 ff.; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Life, Letters, and Papers of William Dunbar of Elgin, Morayshire, Scotland, and Natchez, Mississippi, Pioneer Scientist of the Southern United States* (Jackson, 1930); American Philosophical Society, *Documents Relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana* (Boston, 1904).

³⁵ "Natchez 29th November 1810 Recd from Mr. John Bisland five dollars in [payment] of one half years subscription to Bells Coffee House. James T. Bell." Bisland Papers. There was likewise a coffee room attached to John Winn's tavern (*Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, August 30, 1817); call for subscriptions to a news-room in office of the Washington (Mississippi) *Republican*, December 8, 1813.

the connotations of life this possession carried, was at least the ideal of every man, and thus takes on social significance.

William Winans, who lived in a dog-trot cabin in 1815, claimed to be housed as well as nine-tenths of the citizenry.³⁶ If his memory served him right in his old age, the housing of the majority was rather primitive. Certainly this was true of the newly arrived. But there were houses of dignity and even (by ordinary American standards) pretentiousness. Between the building of Gayoso's "Concord" in 1794, with its columns three stories high, and the laying out of "Arlington" by a Philadelphia architect and an English landscape gardener in 1816, a number of fine homes were created.³⁷

A progress from one to another of these houses was the most esteemed mode of entertainment. A young Philadelphia officer who expected little of the backwoods was in 1798 made to take the rounds of eleven of them and was " . . . much astonished to see the style (truly elegant) they lived in."³⁸ In 1801 a casual mercantile visitor was entertained for a month in various houses.³⁹ At Christmas time the young men would be off on the circuits, if indeed they could find their friends

³⁶ Autobiography of William Winans (Mississippi Department of Archives and History).

³⁷ The best account of the houses surrounding Natchez is that of Mrs. Edith Wyatt Moore, published for a number of years during the 1930's in the special editions printed by the Natchez *Democrat* for the annual pilgrimage visitors. The Library of Congress collection of the detailed sketches and plans made by the Historic American Buildings Survey includes, for this period, "Gloucester" (Governor Winthrop Sargent's home, date *circa* 1799) and "Linden." Portions of "Airlie" and of "Richmond" were built of brick during the Spanish period. One judges from the dating of letters at houses, for example "Bellemont" and "The Grove," that homes of sufficient pretension to be named were dotted around Natchez in 1799. Dunbar had probably begun the building of "Forest" by that time. It is highly improbable that Anthony Hutchins, Abner Green, Cato West, and others whose places were important enough to be located on a map (Lafon's) in 1806 lived in dog-trots. The Greens had built "Springfield," a long brick house with the columns of the Greek revival, by 1815.

³⁸ Louise Butler, "West Feliciana: A Glimpse of its History," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VII (1924), 96.

³⁹ William B. McGroarty (ed.), "Diary of Captain Philip Buckner," in *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (Williamsburg, 1892-), Second Series, VI (1926), 173 ff.

at home, since some of the planters, or their families, spent the winter season in New Orleans.⁴⁰

After their fashion, then, the upper crust "at the Natchez" followed the pattern of English country house life. Similarly the family as a political institution in the territory is reminiscent of the eighteenth century ruling class. The Hutchins and the Green clans, for example, were dominant forces in the turbulent politics of the decade after 1797.⁴¹

What little organized religion flourished in the region was of the English and American evangelical variety. The Spanish had made a failure of the attempt to Romanize the inhabitants;⁴² there was no organized Roman Catholic congregation during the period;⁴³ and the Anglican activity was practically non-existent. The Protestant element petitioned the Congress in 1798 for land grants in aid of schools and clergy,⁴⁴ and a non-sectarian effort to import clergy and appoint places of worship was made in 1800 and 1801 by a convention of the citizens.⁴⁵ The Mississippi Bible Society was organized around the end of 1813.⁴⁶ These and other efforts⁴⁷ did not result in numerous buildings or strong congregations. But they did make it certain that the Presbyterians, Meth-

⁴⁰ Thomas Rodney to Major Richard Claiborne, December 27, 1805, January 25, 1806, in Papers of Thomas Rodney (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁴¹ For a more extended treatment, see William B. Hamilton, "American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: The Mississippi Phase" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1938), Chapters V and VI.

⁴² Gayoso de Lemos to ———, March 31, 1795, in Spanish Transcripts in Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

⁴³ Manuel de Texada left \$1500 in his will in 1818 to encourage the reorganization of a Catholic congregation. Natchez *Mississippi State Gazette*, January 3, January 10, 1818.

⁴⁴ Petition of John Henderson and others, November 26, 1798, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, V, *Mississippi Territory* (1937), 50-51.

⁴⁵ James Hall [who was a Presbyterian missionary to the territory in 1800], *A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory* . . . (Salisbury, N. C., 1801); Committee to John Bisland, December 29, 1800, in Bisland Papers; *Green's Impartial Observer* (Natchez), February 21, 1801.

⁴⁶ William Winans (MS. Journal, November 2, 1814, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History) preached the anniversary sermon; call of meeting, *Washington Republican*, August 26, 1815.

⁴⁷ See especially Jones, *Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi*; John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 2 vols. (Nashville, 1908).

odists, and Baptists would be the dominant sects in the region's religious life, and that the strong thread of Puritanism so characteristic of the South would early be woven into the cultural fabric.

The law was one of the principal preoccupations of the people, since it decided the ownership of land in a region of complicated titles. It was also one of the roads to learning and wealth. The law was English. "Common law jurisdiction" was given to the judges by the extension to the territory of the Ordinance of 1787, and the courts from time to time expressly stated that common law was the local law.⁴⁸ The antipathy to the common law found in some sections of the West⁴⁹ never existed in Mississippi.

The forms and procedure and the precedents employed were almost exclusively English.⁵⁰ And in making the first codification of statute law for the region, in 1806, Harry Toulmin "felt inclined to adopt . . . [the view that] the statute as well as the common law of England, as it stood previously to the settlement of Florida, makes a part of the law of the Mississippi Territory."⁵¹

Spanish law left its traces in the region only by grace. The courts permitted the citation of civilians, such as Domat and Vattel, in the pleading of cases which had begun in Spanish days.⁵² "This mingled

⁴⁸ For example, Thomas Rodney, C. J., on a motion for a new trial in *Williams, Executor of Willis, v. Conner et ux.*, July 21, 1804. Rodney's legal notebooks, in four volumes, are in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

⁴⁹ See William T. Utter, "Ohio and the English Common Law," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1929), 321 ff.

⁵⁰ Burn's *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* was the principal guide used by Harry Toulmin in compiling *The Magistrates' Assistant . . . for the Use of the Justices of Peace, in the Mississippi Territory* (Natchez, 1807).

⁵¹ Harry Toulmin to Acting-Governor Cowlee Mead, January 19, 1807, in Mississippi Territorial Archives, Series A, Volume 7. The digest is the one of 1807: *The Statutes of the Mississippi Territory, Revised and Digested by Authority of the General Assembly*. The legislature itself had incorporated into its acts certain English statutes. For example, on November 18, 1803, it adopted those of 13 Elizabeth, ch. 4, and 27 Elizabeth, ch. 4, in reference to fraudulent conveyances, and Sec. 4 of 29 Charles II, ch. 3, the latter slightly modified (Edward Mayes in *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 101; Toulmin's *Digest*, 263-65; and *Statutes of the Realm*).

⁵² Rodney's notebooks (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), especially the following cases: *Williams, Executor of Willis, v. William Conner et ux.*, July 21, 1804; *Calvit v. Spires*, March 24-25, 1808; *Cole's Lessee v. Anthony*, May 31, 1809.

Jargon, of the barr," as Chief Justice Thomas Rodney phrased it, illustrates the learning which characterized the better lawyers of the region. Mere Blackstone lawyers, as they have been accused of being, could not compete with barristers who not only cited the civilians and Blackstone, but supported their arguments with precedents from all the eighteenth century English reporters and a good many of the treatises.

The efforts of the people to transplant another great institution of culture met with unhappy results. Their college, chartered in 1803, and named hopefully for Jefferson, almost foundered on the rocks of parsimony, sectional jealousy, and political partisanship. More than a decade later it finally began its not unhonorable career. There were numerous schools during the period: evening schools, day schools, English schools, and even one on the Lancasterian principle. It is hard to say what quality of instruction the teachers disbursed, but there is considerable suspicion that formal education suffered from the scattered nature of the population, poor financial support, lack of character and want of training in the masters, and the absence of vigorous church schools.⁵³

The institution which most interested these frontiersmen was government. Their generation and their local history gave them awareness of governmental principles. The vocation of some of the men, and the avocation of the rest, was furious, personal, bitter politics. It is unnecessary to point out that this Mississippi characteristic is highly hereditary. The politics was within the framework of English tradition, with its family grouping, its political parties, its pamphleteering; and it was also within the framework of the English forms—a parliamentary system modified by crown colony experience, in the familiar American pattern.⁵⁴

⁵³ William B. Hamilton, "Jefferson College and Education in Mississippi, 1798-1817," in *Journal of Mississippi History*, III (1941), 259-76.

⁵⁴ An interesting sample of the use of English constitutional theory and phraseology, in a land where the separation of powers was supposed to be a shibboleth, is the conception of the legislature as composed of governor, council, and house. "We return your excellency our best thanks for your wishes of an agreeable Session, we possess a pleasing presage that it will be conducted to its termination with perfect harmony on the part of the three branches of the legislature" (Answer of the House to the message opening the session, October 5, 1803. MS. Journal of the House of Representatives, 1803, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History). And again: Williams prorogued the legisla-

Although government had lost somewhere along the way many of its medieval and mercantilistic functions, it is not to be supposed that laissez-faire prevailed on the frontier. Not to make a complete catalogue, government regulated the cattle industry minutely, provided for classification and inspection of cotton for export,⁵⁵ inspected imported flour, provided vaccine and quarantine in smallpox epidemics,⁵⁶ and concerned itself with a hospital.⁵⁷ The county courts and the justices of the peace appointed viewers of fences, fixed tavern prices and mill rates, supervised roads and bridges, and looked after the poor and orphaned.⁵⁸

The city of Natchez provided for the functions of a sort of port authority,⁵⁹ owned the ferry rights across the Mississippi,⁶⁰ held the old assize of bread,⁶¹ and established a market.⁶² In these regulations there was nothing unique, but one of its activities is unusual. The corporation not only maintained the trees on the commons, but operated a public

ture, November 11, 1807, ". . . since the two houses have not been enabled during the term of nine days officially to communicate with each other or with the Governor, composing also one branch of the legislature." Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, V, 579.

⁵⁵ William B. Hamilton, "Early Cotton Regulation in the Lower Mississippi Valley," in *Agricultural History* (Washington, 1927-), XV (1941), 20-25.

⁵⁶ Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I, 414-16, 426, 430, 454, 523-26; Toulmin's *Digest*, 375.

⁵⁷ See, *inter alia*, C. S. Magoun, "History of the Mississippi State Hospital at Natchez," in *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (New Orleans, 1844-), IX (1852), 342-48.

⁵⁸ For these and other duties and activities of the county courts and their members, see Toulmin's *Digest*, 7, 31, 36, 85, 88, 89, 90-95, 99, 214, 216, 272, 357-58, 362, 364, 387, 417; [Edward Turner (comp.)], *Statutes of the Mississippi Territory . . .* (Natchez, 1816), 327, 345, 369; and the minutes of the Adams County courts preserved at Natchez. Two of the latter have been distributed in mimeograph: The Mississippi Historical Records Survey, *Transcription of County Archives of Mississippi, No. 2, Adams County (Natchez)*: Volume I, *Minutes of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, 1799-1801*, and Volume II, *Minutes of the County Court, 1802-1804* (Jackson, 1942).

⁵⁹ Ordinance of February 11, 1806, printed in *Natchez Mississippi Messenger*, March 4, 1806.

⁶⁰ *Natchez Mississippi Republican*, March 16, 1814.

⁶¹ Ordinance of May 24, 1806, printed in *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, May 27, 1806. See advertisement by city clerk, in *Natchez Mississippi Messenger*, June 10, 1806.

⁶² The establishment of the market, with compulsory sales of all perishable produce and meat therein, was resisted by the hucksters and fishermen. *Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette*, May 27, 1806; *Natchez Weekly Chronicle*, May 27, June 10, 1809.

nursery for the growth of the pride of China trees⁶³ which lined its streets.

The rugged individualism of the inhabitant of the Natchez district, and his independence of government may, in point of fact, be put in question. He looked to the local government not only to regulate all these aspects of his life, but also to stay the collection of his debts in time of depression. Of the federal government he expected handouts not unlike those of the 1930's. He was not only cravenly eager for patronage, but actually expected federal wealth to be given him for his personal use and to finance his institutions. Land was the principal form of wealth in the territory, and the frontiersman wanted it presented to him without cost and granted to subsidize his churches, schools, and hospitals.

Thus we have a frontier community in the Natchez district dependent upon governmental assistance, and accustomed to governmental supervision. A motley and interesting population, isolated as it was, evidenced considerable intellectual curiosity, and engaged in by no means negligible literary and scientific pursuits. Although it lay on the Spanish borderlands, and was itself fresh from twenty years of Spanish rule, its life was predominantly Anglo-American in tone.

The region read English books and performed English plays. It followed, if at some distance, English precedents in its social and governmental institutions. It adopted English law. Its religion was the British version of continental Protestantism. If it be not flogging a dead horse, the suggestion is put forward that to travel the Natchez Trace understandingly, one should begin the journey in St. Stephen's Chapel and the great hall of William the Red.

⁶³ See the list of warrants issued by the city, in *Natchez Mississippi Republican*, March 19, 1818.

J. D. B. De Bow, the Man

BY OTTIS CLARK SKIPPER

The name of James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow is known to every serious student of southern history for his part in the epochal Seventh Census of the United States and for the magazine which he founded and edited to promote the economic development of the South. But perhaps most of those who now turn to the files of *De Bow's Review* and to our "first modern census" as storehouses of information know little of the personal characteristics and the private life of the man to whom they are indebted. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, on July 10, 1820, De Bow graduated from the College of Charleston as valedictorian of his class in 1843, and was admitted to the practice of law in 1844. He soon succumbed, however, to a "propensity for scribbling," contributing some significant articles to the *Southern Quarterly Review* and serving that journal briefly in an editorial capacity. Moving to New Orleans at the age of twenty-five, he began the publication of his *Commercial Review of the South and West*, to which he devoted the major part of his attention until his death on February 27, 1867, at the age of forty-six.¹

In appearance, De Bow was tall, gaunt, lean, and pensive. His thick,

¹ For a useful bibliographical analysis of De Bow's activities, see James A. McMillen, *The Works of James D. B. De Bow* (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1940). A brief biographical sketch is in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), V, 180-82. Other recent works containing additional information are Willis D. Weatherford, *James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow* (*Southern Sketches*, No. 3, Charlottesville, Va., 1935); Frank L. Mott, *History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge, 1938), 338-48; and Ottis C. Skipper, "J. D. B. De Bow and the Seventh Census," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (New Orleans, 1917-), XXII (1939), 479-91. The present study is based largely upon personal information in *De Bow's Review*, 43 vols. (New Orleans and elsewhere, 1846-1880), and upon manuscript materials in the De Bow Papers, which are in the custody of his son, Judge J. D. B. De Bow, Nashville, Tennessee.

dark, disheveled hair, black shaggy beard, large ears and mouth, and long, beaked, belligerent nose made him uncomely. Yet his dark, piercing, bespectacled eyes, firm chin, and high, well-shaped forehead made him an arresting figure. His "delicate organization," driven by indomitable energy and ambition, was frequently upset by "protracted intervals of ill health." Naturally anxious to avoid any threat to his fragile constitution, he was little interested in purely masculine sports or commonplace associates, and was "apt to find a safe place" if one was accessible.²

A wide but miscellaneous reader, he was a fertile rather than a deep thinker. Though always striving to be practical, he was something of an aesthete, appreciating the "refining influence of the arts upon society." Still his taste for painting, sculpture, and music was undeveloped.³ His enthusiasm for nature—an avenue through which he sought both God and the beautiful—was spontaneous. To him, flowers were "living, breathing, glowing poetry." He would sometimes steal away from the "sounds of music and the revels of youth and beauty . . . in the halls of fashion" for the consolations of the seashore. He particularly prized the majestic scenery of the Asheville-Chattanooga region, partly because it relieved Southerners of the need for ever again seeking the mountains of New England.⁴

² *De Bow's Review*, XXVII (1859), 492, 573 note; S. C. Martyn to De Bow, October 24, 1854, June 7, 1855, September 26, 1856, De Bow Papers; Erasmus D. Fenner to *id.*, August 9, 1863, *ibid.*; Charles E. A. Gayarré to *id.*, August 28, 1866, *ibid.*; clippings in the De Bow Papers from the Baltimore *Sun*, March 2, 1867, and the New York *Day-Book*, March 9, 1867. Gayarré thought De Bow had "a knack for getting good photographs." Edwin Q. Bell, in taking over the editorship following De Bow's death, referred to the "admirable" portrait that appeared as the frontispiece of the June, 1867, issue. *De Bow's Review*, After the War Series, III (1867), 593.

³ *De Bow's Review*, I (1846), 287-88; II (1846), 98-106; After the War Series, I (1866), 445; Ledger VII, entry for December 17, 1860, De Bow Papers. Even the assiduous reader of the *Review* might be unaware that the theater and opera flourished in New Orleans in the 1850's.

⁴ *De Bow's Review*, III (1847), 184; IX (1850), 51, 54, 347; XIII (1852), 425; XXI (1856), 324-25; XXIX (1860), 573; XXXI (1861), 329. Edwin Q. Bell, who knew De Bow well, thought his "peculiar and striking characteristics . . . were self-reliance, diligence, application, and above all, unswerving devotion to the interests of the South. With these qualities he felt that he deserved to succeed, and never for a moment doubted the future." *Ibid.*, After the War Series, IV (1867), 153. Another friend, "well acquainted with his public and private life," was impressed by his "high and kindly nature." E. H. Maunsell in the Baltimore *Gazette*, an undated clipping in De Bow Papers.

Little in the field of economics seems to have escaped him. In statistics, where his contributions were most significant, he was less original than erudite—undefatigable, meticulous, and quick to recognize and utilize the work of the specialists. In all phases of economics he evinced great interest in opinions as well as in "substantial facts." Calling attention in 1849 to the fact that millions were inadequately clothed, he opposed restricting the output of cotton as a means of increasing its price. He thought rather that government restrictions should be removed so the potential demand would become the actual.⁵ Soon realizing that this proposal was impractical and desiring to safeguard the planter's property in Negroes and to promote internal improvements in the South, he suggested that slave labor be diverted from cotton fields to factories and railroad construction.⁶ If he understood the relation between specie and prices, he erroneously assumed that both rent and profit were the products of labor and that it was impossible for wages and profits to rise together.⁷ He believed that governments should levy none but direct taxes on property and those only to meet essential or legitimate needs.⁸ The Panic of 1857 was caused, he thought, by the sudden diversion of large amounts of capital from commerce to the construction of uneconomical railroads, and by the "selfish and unwise" course pursued by northern banks. He assumed that only the stockholders paid the excess cost of such roads, and that the people generally reaped unearned profits from the resulting rise in land values and the increase in wealth. Predicting that the depression would be of short duration, he thought its recurrence could be prevented by leaving commerce and industry "to the control of enlightened self-interest rather [than] to that of theorizing politicians."⁹

Though his economic thought was neither original nor objective, it nevertheless commanded wide respect in the South. The *Buffalo Morning Express*, however, doubtless voiced the sentiments of many North-

⁵ *De Bow's Review*, VII (1849), 73 note.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XI (1851), 638-39; XII (1852), 556; XIII (1852), 73.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII (1852), 74-76; XIX (1855), 421.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXI (1856), 170-77; XXV (1858), 1 note, 220-21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIII (1857), 652-59.

erners in denouncing his "monstrous philosophy" as "radically and viciously erroneous."¹⁰

The lingering influence on De Bow's mind of his "esteemed friend and early preceptor," Lewis R. Gibbs of the College of Charleston, perhaps instilled in him an enduring interest in the sciences and in exact information. Realizing that "the germs of many a great truth lie often at the bottom of what seems at first sight but speculation," he always opened the pages of his *Review* to scientists, however novel their views.¹¹ He especially welcomed contributions designed to improve the public health or reveal the great discoveries of his time. He called the Atlantic cable the "grandest, the vastest conception of the age." It girded the globe "in reality as in poetry, and the civilization of the old and new world, . . . hold communion with each other by an electric spark!" After such a feat he was unwilling to "limit . . . again the achievements of the energy, the enterprise and the daring spirit of our age and country." Going beyond fiction, fact had solved the railroad's last great problem.¹² From another college instructor, William Hawkesworth, his "friend and guide in classic fields," De Bow obtained a lasting interest in languages. Perhaps his belief that he was of Huguenot ancestry and the presence of Latin elements in Charleston and New Orleans were partly responsible for his interest in French. But even Otto Huebner's statistical works in German did not escape him.¹³

The versatile William Brantley, college president and teacher of religion, of moral, intellectual, and political philosophy, and of economics and history, contributed much to De Bow's lifelong thirst for information on divers subjects and to his introspective and philosophical tendencies. To him the divine command to "serve and assist" was as binding as that to "love one another." He thought adversity a school in which men were trained for greatness. In it their minds were sharpened

¹⁰ Issue for December 11, 1865, clipping in De Bow Papers.

¹¹ See, for example, *De Bow's Review*, IV (1847), 177-94; VIII (1850), 190-94; XII (1852), 578-80; XIV (1853), 208 note.

¹² *Ibid.*, After the War Series, II (1866), 133.

¹³ When De Bow was at the height of his career, Edwin Q. Bell reminded him of an old promise of a loan of some French, Spanish, and Italian books. Bell to De Bow, April 26, 1856, De Bow Papers.

and their powers developed. Personal misfortunes and the changing clientele of a favorite seaside resort once caused him to think of the "strange vicissitudes of life," of the "fate of him who stakes his all on this world's things," of the vain hopes of "lasting love, of mutual offices, of growing confidences, of joys and happiness untold!" Resignation was the "highest virtue of the Christian philosopher—of the saints and archangels." Yet man even in his highest attainments was unable "to realize and feel, in its fullness, all that is involved in the sublime declaration—Thy will be done!"¹⁴

De Bow was reared in an age of religious dissension and by sectarian parents, relatives, and teachers. Among his earliest recollections were the "polished brow and whitened locks, and the silvery notes of Dr. [William] Capers, as Sabbath after Sabbath, they presented themselves in the sanctuary" that he was "required by parental solicitude to attend," when he would have much preferred to "run riot among the trees, the bird's-nests, and the high grass" of the adjoining churchyard. "If not improved by the teaching," he "learned to revere the teacher" whom the Methodists later honored with a bishopric.¹⁵

Orphaned in his teens, De Bow came under the influence of pious Baptist relatives and then the "ornate and profound" Brantley. He performed his "first act of public service" as a delegate from Charleston in "aiding and counseling" the division of the Baptist Church because of the slavery question. Soon thereafter he was a "manager" of the South Carolina Sunday School Union—his last recorded church office.¹⁶ A decade and a half later a friend—George W. Samson, Baptist minister and president of Columbian College in Washington—unaware that De Bow had been baptized into the Episcopal Church on September 25, 1856, thought he attended the latter church for the sake of his family. Samson testified, however, that "De Bow personally knew the power of religion" and in "outward deportment, and . . . moral sentiments was worthy of one who had made a Christian profession."¹⁷

¹⁴ *De Bow's Review*, V (1848), 109; XIX (1855), 512; XXVII (1859), 243.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVI (1859), 173-83.

¹⁶ *Charleston Mercury*, May 10, June 4, 1845; *De Bow's Review*, XXIII (1857), 104-105.

¹⁷ George W. Samson, "To whom it may concern," July 10, 1860, De Bow Papers. This statement was written to help De Bow overcome the opposition of his prospective

Respectful of the "prejudice and feelings" of Christians generally and accepting the Bible as the revealed will of God, he condemned attacks upon unconventional creeds and beliefs.¹⁸ Religion, he thought, elevates and purifies the citizen and patriot, "adorns the peasant and beyond all things else adds glory to the prince." It lived and moved in the beautiful, and intermingled with nature without being confused with it. Heavenly impulses actuating men's hearts found "a brother in the most abandoned child of clay," raised him from destitution, ministered to his wants, watched with "tender solicitude by his dying bed, and conduct[ed] him with meet solemnities to his final resting-place."¹⁹ Moving in a mysterious way to carry out His designs and intervening directly to protect those who do their duty, God makes or mars men's fortunes by their own acts. Yet for all De Bow knew, "Happiness . . . may be the ultimate end," justifying whatever produces the most of it. He believed the church's mandates should often be enforced by secular law.

No individual won his esteem quite so much as a scholarly, gentlemanly, and faithful minister of the gospel, who knew how "to temper the duties of the church with those of the world, and to reconcile the claims of patriotism and society with the sterner and usually too uncompromising ones of the pulpit."²⁰ If he condemned in 1843 the provision in the South Carolina constitution of 1778 denying clergymen the right to sit in the senate, house, or executive offices, the political activities of ecclesiastics were doubtless responsible for his willingness to "give up this point" by 1856.²¹

Though De Bow seems to have been a regular church attendant, he was a religious man of the world rather than a churchman. His brother Frank, a devout Baptist, was concerned lest James' "parties," his "many

mother-in-law to his proposed marriage to Miss Martha Johns. For a record of De Bow's baptism, see the Family Bible, De Bow Papers.

¹⁸ *Southern Quarterly Review* (New Orleans, Charleston, 1842-1857), IX (1846), 475-507; *De Bow's Review*, IX (1850), 243; XII (1852), 695.

¹⁹ *De Bow's Review*, IV (1847), 401; V (1848), 487; XVII (1854), 611; After the War Series, IV (1867), 287, 530.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VI (1848), 334-35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XIII (1852), 205; XXIII (1857), 106.

friends," and the "gayeties and profanities" of New Orleans should take him entirely away from his Bible, causing him to lose through their neglect the "10 talents" God had given him.²²

Though "reverence for the teachings of holy writ and abiding faith in their inspiration, . . . sustain[ed] . . . [him] in every hour of trial or suffering," he was unable to "countenance the narrow bigotry of those who, daring to speak under its authority," would uphold as truth what science had overthrown. Having little "predilection for theological polemics," or for asserting his orthodoxy by "blows and knocks," he held with Alexander Pope that

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight
He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.²³

Yet he had little sympathy for "shouting Methodists," spiritualists, Universalists, and the "papacy, with all its horrors."²⁴ Influenced by admiration for the zeal of Catholic missionaries in seventeenth-century America, by the earnestness of such sturdy communicants as his devoted friend Charles Gayarré, and by his New Orleans residence, De Bow seems to have striven for a more tolerant attitude toward that sect. In time he professed ability to meet the Catholic as a "friend and brother . . . at the same board and at all times" while privately remaining much opposed to that Church. As for the Mormons, he declared that although "the safety of our institutions and of our civilization" depended upon "perfect freedom of religious worship," he had little sympathy for that "deluded people."²⁵

²² Benjamin F. De Bow to J. D. B. De Bow, December 23, 1858, February 24, 1859, De Bow Papers; J. D. B. De Bow to his wife, April 9, October 25, 1863, *ibid.* For the "gayeties and profanities" in the New Orleans of De Bow's time, see Lyle Saxon, *Fabulous New Orleans* (New York, 1928), 169-247, and E. Merton Coulter, *The Other Half of Old New Orleans* (Baton Rouge, 1939), for 1840-1842.

²³ *De Bow's Review*, IX (1850), 243; X (1851), 593.

²⁴ *Southern Quarterly Review*, VI (1844), 125; *De Bow's Review*, X (1851), 367, 370; XXVI (1859), 173.

²⁵ *Southern Quarterly Review*, VII (1845), 77-78, 202; *De Bow's Review*, XIX (1855), 325-28; XX (1856), 557-58; XXII (1857), 17, 166 note; XXIV (1858), 81-82; XXIX (1860), 583 note; Benjamin F. De Bow to J. D. B. De Bow, February 24, 1859, De Bow Papers.

To ameliorate the condition of those who were "permanently and incurably denied the light of reason" was, he believed, "worthy of the highest efforts of humanity." Without endorsing Dorothea L. Dix's request for a large grant of public land to support the insane, he pointed out that her memorial to Congress abounded in "information, collected in all the states, of the most interesting but touching and melancholy character."²⁶ While he insisted that the pauper should be required to support himself by his own labor, he admitted that efforts to find a satisfactory arrangement had "baffled philanthropy in every age of the world."²⁷

Genial, generous, sentimental, and something of a conversationalist, De Bow welcomed opportunities for "social indulgence." By 1859 he was again going so "deeply into society" that the pious Frank warned that at his age he should be thinking of "better things."²⁸ Had he lived to see America become "a nation of joiners," he would probably have belonged to one or more secret fraternal orders.²⁹ He showed a marked preference for the society of hospitable, generous, fashionable, honorable, affluent, educated, and conservative people.³⁰ His confidants were obviously less numerous than his loose use of the phrase "our esteemed friend" or the enthusiastic reports of his second bride to her mother would indicate. Still he had many intimates and his regard for them was sincere and enduring. He was "very popular with the planting interest of the South," while Maunsel White and Charles Gayarré, each somewhat his senior, were uncommonly devoted to him.³¹ Impoverished

²⁶ *De Bow's Review*, VI (1848), 334-35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII (1852), 205; XXIII (1857), 106.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, V (1848), 208; VI (1848), 231; XXVIII (1860), 122-23; XXIX (1860), 382-85; Benjamin F. De Bow to J. D. B. De Bow, February 24, 1859, De Bow Papers; P. L. Rainwater (ed.), "Notes on Southern Personalities," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), IV (1938), 214-15.

²⁹ *De Bow's Review*, IX (1850), 50-54. Though not a Mason in 1852, he was invited to join the Pelican Lodge of the Scottish Rite order in 1859. *Ibid.*, XIII (1852), 211; C. W. Sears to De Bow, January 29, 1859, De Bow Papers.

³⁰ *De Bow's Review*, V (1848), 487-88; XII (1852), 108; XVIII (1855), 169; XXIX (1860), 538.

³¹ De Bow's second wife wrote to her mother that she "never saw anyone that seemed to entertain stronger feeling of friendship" than Gayarré and his wife manifested for her husband. Letters over a twenty-year period from Gayarré to De Bow corroborate her testi-

by the Civil War, Paul Hamilton Hayne sought a loan of "\$50, \$30 or even \$20" in the "*strictest confidence of friendship*, . . . knowing that whether you *can* help me or not you will understand, and pardon this appeal to an old friend." De Bow "Lent the money."³² Another intimate whom the war had beggared was given "permission" to use his money. A boyhood friend broke a long silence with the note: "Send me five dollars and oblige," on which De Bow indicated his usual reply—"Sent the money."³³ His "princely liberality and kindness" saved Charleston relatives from want.

Though temperate in his habits, De Bow could go into ecstasies over good wine. He "tasted the virtues" of liquors produced by Sidney Weller, Nicholas Longworth, and others, commending them enthusiastically. Maunsel White, generous and discriminating, considered a hundred bottles of orange wine a fit token of his esteem after the war had separated De Bow from family and friends. But not being inclined to the "sin" of using whiskey, De Bow damned that beverage with "heart and soul," wishing to see "dram shops" closed "until the end of time." On the use of tobacco, however, he admitted that he was forced to "compound a little." Nor did he disdain the lottery.³⁴

Delicate in his tastes, De Bow sought diversion in contemplation, the society of the ballroom and of the southern watering place, and in travel. The pleasures afforded by "the thousand associations of other days," clustering around a college essay—"The Beautiful"—encouraged

mony. When the war had destroyed the historian's fortune and broken his spirit, he sought relief by unburdening his heart to De Bow and begging to be kept informed of his friend's movements. "You cannot imagine how welcome your letters are," he wrote. See various letters from White and Gayarré to De Bow, and Mrs. De Bow's letters to her mother, De Bow Papers. White also showed his interest by providing funds for resumption of the publication of the *Review* following its suspension in 1849, and in the same year endowed a professorship of political economy for De Bow at the University of Louisiana (now Tulane University).

³² Paul H. Hayne to De Bow, December 15, 1862, De Bow Papers.

³³ Joe Ainger to *id.*, July 15, 1866, *ibid.* See, also, E. H. Maunsell to *id.*, July 1, 1866, and J. S. Duke to *id.*, December 24, 1866, *ibid.*

³⁴ *De Bow's Review*, VI (1848), 200 note; XVI (1854), 336; XVIII (1855), 589; XXXIII (1862), 85; After the War Series, II (1866), 447. See, also, R. G. Barnwell to De Bow, February 25, 1860, and Maunsel White to *id.*, November 3, 1861, De Bow Papers.

the hope that his readers would "pardon the innocent egotism" prompting its insertion in the *Review*. In reality he continued to believe that

. . . the truths of philosophy are the revelations of the intellect; the truths of poetry are the lights of the soul, the rapt vision of ideal glory which shadow forth the destinies of the immortal; religion is a source of the beautiful, a consolation from the heart; the common man can take comfort in the fact that the product of the soul is as important as that of the mind; nature, music, sermons and women are the avenues of love and religion.³⁵

After a tour of New England in 1839, college, the law, and the *Southern Quarterly Review* seem to have confined De Bow to the Carolinas for half a dozen years. Then, determined to launch a magazine of his own, he went to Memphis, where he served as a delegate from South Carolina to the "Convention of the Southern and Western States," in November, 1845; and from there to Louisiana, where he began a desperate struggle to establish his *Review*. Influenced by fear of the New Orleans summer climate and enticed by conventions, fairs, and resorts where business and pleasure mingled, he began in 1847 to make almost annual summer trips not only through the South and West but also to the North. The Springs of Virginia, "celebrated resorts of fashion and abodes of health," were generally on his itinerary by 1852. If the "energy and progress" of Cincinnati amazed him, the "beautiful and accomplished" women of Mobile and of Columbus, Mississippi, whom he desired to add to his subscription list, embellished his dreams. He often visited Charleston and St. Helena Island, blest as they were by the "associations of boyhood." The seats of prominent men, important towns, railroads, and educational institutions were featured in his travel sketches.³⁶

Eager to "reverse the interminable" migration to the North, De Bow repeatedly sought to "let the public know how much they . . . [might] expect, without the consecrated names of Newport and Saratoga." Delightful shades, excellent fare, luxurious baths and balls, and fascinating women, gorgeous scenery, and health-giving waters bade the epicure remain in the South. He begged his readers either to choose

³⁵ *De Bow's Review*, IX (1850), 50-54.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VII (1849), 189; XVI (1854), 336; XXIX (1860), 383-95.

among the section's offerings or to follow his example and "take them all." Old Point Comfort, with its fashionable patrons, its "admirable bathing facilities, its invigorating breezes, [and] its magnificent views," became his favorite retreat. Even in the midst of war, he was able to spend some time at Cooper's Well, a famous resort near Jackson, Mississippi.³⁷

Though Caroline Poe, a relative of the famous poet, may not have been one of those "nymph-like forms" that added glamor to those resorts and "glimpses of heaven" to De Bow's dreams, yet as his wife for four brief years she showed him that love was the "nearest pathway to heaven!" From this union two children came: Mary Emma, later renamed Caroline Mary by her father, and James Dunwoody Brownson. The latter died before the end of his first year; the former became her father's precocious, blue-eyed and fair-haired idol. From the usually well-guarded "sanctities" of his "sorrows," Caroline's death on February 8, 1858, elicited a rare lament:

Farewell sainted spirit: The dreams and hopes and fond "tomorrow's of life" are gone, . . . let fall the curtain now over protracted wastings of disease, racking pains, midnight vigils, and sorrowing hearts. Farewell!

Christian fortitude and Christian hope, undimmed for an instant by clouds, guided and cheered thee on through "the dark valley!" . . .

Tender, affectionate, devoted in all the relations of wife, mother, daughter, and friend, there will be weeping over thy young grave; but what grief can be like that of him—? There are sanctities, however, of sorrow that may not be invaded, and, amid the harrowing vicissitudes of life, flowers even of consolation may be found springing up from the grave! If the years that accumulate upon us but add their burdens and sharpen more acutely the thorn of probationary life—happy, after all, it may be (melancholy comfort to the afflicted!) thrice

—, happy they
who of that fragile mould
—break with the first fall!³⁸

³⁷ *Ibid.*, IX (1850), 347-50; X (1851), 352-57; XI (1851), 100-101; XIV (1853), 49-54, 78; XXI (1856), 323-29; XXIII (1857), 334; XXV (1858), 125, 371, 483-84; XXVII (1859), 112-18, 366; XXIX (1860), 649-58; After the War Series, II (1866), 325-31.

³⁸ Undated clipping from the Washington *National Intelligencer*, in De Bow Papers. A similar tribute was inscribed on her tombstone in Washington's Oak Hill Cemetery.

De Bow clung tenaciously to the symbols of his wife. He indignantly rejected an offer of twenty-five dollars for her mink furs, and retained the custody of his little daughter, refusing the importunities of the Poes and the affectionate entreaties for her of the Charles Gayarrés.³⁹ "Carrie" was provided for generously, perhaps even lavishly.⁴⁰

Though he mourned his wife sincerely, De Bow continued to live in the genteel manner.⁴¹ By the summer of 1859, "as a man," he was unable longer to remain indifferent to the "raven or golden tresses" that waved in the breezes of the Virginia Springs.⁴² But according to a family tradition, it was in New Orleans that he first saw the woman who became his second wife. When Miss Martha E. Johns of Nashville, Tennessee, accompanied by her mother, passed him on the street, he vowed to some companions that he would marry her. His indomitable enthusiasm was never more evident nor more essential than in pursuit of this resolution. Now oblivious of the burden his forty winters had formerly imposed, he confided to the readers of his *Review* that he longed to linger in the shades of Nashville with his "fair friend."⁴³

Martha seems to have succumbed readily enough to his wooings, but her mother was alarmingly obdurate. Charles Gayarré regretted that his friend's "marital enterprises" were not progressing.⁴⁴ Since Mrs. Johns required assurance of the suitor's position "morally and socially," De Bow was forced to seek the aid of various friends. The president of Columbian College, Washington, testified that the candidate's sta-

³⁹ V. H. Ivy to De Bow, June 14, 1858, and De Bow to W. F. Seymour, December 20, 1858, De Bow Papers.

⁴⁰ When not with her father's relatives, she had a nurse and a private tutor. She studied music and dancing, and had at least one \$6.50 hat. She died in 1871, at the age of sixteen, as a result of her clothing having caught fire.

⁴¹ His tailor bill for 1859 amounted to \$237.60. When in New York he stayed at the St. Nicholas Hotel, at the Willard in Washington, and now much at the St. Charles in New Orleans.

⁴² *De Bow's Review*, XXVII (1859), 367.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXIX (1860), 123-24.

⁴⁴ Gayarré to De Bow, June 12, 1860, and Benjamin F. De Bow to *id.*, July 6, 14, 29, and August 21, 1860, De Bow Papers. George Fitzhugh thought that if De Bow were forced to choose between the "good Aunt Phoebe . . . log cabin" type and the "petulant, hysterical, but graceful and beautiful Widow St. Clair," he would "spurn the *trop prononcée* virtues of the former, and fall desperately in love with the bewitching frailties of the latter." *De Bow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 418.

tistical services and "able conduct of his Review placed him in the very first circles of the intellectual and eminent gentlemen gathered at the Federal metropolis," and that his high social and moral reputation, too, had been, "sustained without interruption." Furthermore, the writer suggested that De Bow would "prove an honor and joy to all with whom he . . . [might] be associated."⁴⁵ Dr. B. L. Bohner, his medical adviser, gave testimony—on which he had "heard no dissenting opinion from any quarter"—to his "honorable and exemplary conduct in all the relations of husband, father, friend and citizen."⁴⁶ V. H. Ivy bore witness to the "private character and personal fortunes" of his law partner—"a fit representative of . . . his high spirited and chivalric" native South Carolina. Furthermore, he had the "intrinsic merit of having by his own talent accomplished not only his high public position . . . well known to the whole country . . . but also liberal pecuniary fortune."⁴⁷ Anticipating Mrs. Johns' acquiescence, friends were congratulating De Bow on his approaching marriage before the end of July, 1860. Had they been demanded, Martha could have offered numerous letters from school friends bearing loving testimony to her talents, charm, and rare ability to inspire the devoted friendship of her sex.⁴⁸

The "beast" having finally won the "beauty," as some of De Bow's friends quipped, the marriage was solemnized some time in the early fall of 1860, despite some remaining objections of the bride's relatives. The couple spent their honeymoon on a trip to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York, thence to New Orleans by way of Charleston. Martha wrote her mother, with pardonable enthusiasm, that each hour added to her conviction that her future was to be a happy one.⁴⁹ Arriving in New York and finding no room left in the hotel of their choice, "Mr. De Bow with his *usual determination*," resolving "not to be *turned away*," immediately arranged with the "proprietor to have one of the parlors fixed up for him." Martha thought he knew at least half of the hotel's seven hundred guests. One of De Bow's admirers warned

⁴⁵ George W. Samson, "To whom it may concern," July 10, 1860, De Bow Papers.

⁴⁶ Dr. B. L. Bohner to De Bow, August 16, 1860, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ V. H. Ivy to Mrs. Johns, August 10, 1860, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Letters from numerous friends to Martha Johns, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Mrs. De Bow to her mother, not dated [1860], *ibid.*

her that she would have little time there for anything else than to entertain her husband's friends, "as they were so numerous."⁵⁰ The Charles Gayarrés received the De Bows in Philadelphia, while George Fitzhugh "constantly" urged them to pay him a visit, suggesting to Martha the advantages of learning from him the "*secret* of managing Mr. De Bow—before he gets the bit thoroughly in his mouth."⁵¹

Though his friends were importunate, Martha was not neglected. Allowing her to use her own money only for the purchase of "sugar plums," De Bow presented her in New York with "a very handsome opera glass, . . . a bonnet and the cloak" she had wanted, and an "elegant sewing machine," which she had not wanted; with a very large trunk in Philadelphia; and with "a box of the most delicious grapes" in Charleston despite the late November season.⁵² In selecting a place to live, De Bow was equally thoughtful. Rather than separate his wife from her mother, he would move to Nashville. Martha, still enthusiastic, reported that the more she heard and knew of him the more fully she was convinced that he was one of the "*greatest*—as well as one of the *best of men*."⁵³ She, too, was thoughtful, selecting New Orleans for a winter and spring residence, rather than Charleston or Nashville. The De Bows lived generously but not extravagantly in their new home.⁵⁴

The "ominous progress of [David G.] Farragut's fleet" up the Mississippi River in the spring of 1862 rudely disrupted their felicity. Martha, "Jimmy," a child of less than a year, and probably Carrie, were soon in a refugee camp at Winnsboro, South Carolina, while De Bow, after a period in Richmond, generally discharged the duties of his produce-loan office from the Columbus, Mississippi, home of the aristo-

⁵⁰ Martha reported exultantly that "If cousin Steve could see how warmly Mr. De Bow was received by *hundreds* he would *never again* say he had *no friends*." Mrs. De Bow to her mother, not dated [1860], *ibid*.

⁵¹ *Id.*, to *id.*, October 23, 1860, *ibid*.

⁵² *Id.* to *id.*, October 23, November 21, 1860, *ibid*.

⁵³ *Id.*, to *id.*, an undated letter, *ibid*.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, to *id.*, probably October 17, 1860, *ibid*. After living a few months at the St. Charles Hotel, they bought a residence for about \$4,000, and added some \$600 worth of furniture to what De Bow may already have had. Though Martha was something of a musician, they were renting a piano as late as March, 1861. For a chronological list of some expenditures, see Ledger V, De Bow Papers.

cratic Colonel Charles Baskerville. He wrote that he relished less his "desert every day" and his ice cream occasionally because his "dear family could not enjoy the same." Longing for news of the "plans and doings" of his wife and "the dear little ones," and enduring separation from them only because of the demands of their country, he begged Martha to make no needless sacrifices. He insisted that she buy all the clothing that . . . [was] wanted regardless of the expense," and urged her to employ a seamstress, "take plenty of exercise," and enjoy herself all she could. As his second little namesake's first anniversary approached, he wrote Martha to "Stand Jimmy on his head for me."⁵⁵ He visited his family as often as possible, and as the war progressed, Carrie and Jimmy were joined by three more children—Benjamin Franklin, William Neal, and Evalina.

De Bow's financial success was due more to his "impulsive genius" than to "those methodical habits"—which the records belie—that R. G. Barnwell thought he early acquired as a clerk in E. and J. B. Delano's wholesale grocery store.⁵⁶ By the time the war interrupted his increasingly profitable magazine enterprise, he had invested approximately \$30,000 in bank, railroad, and other securities.⁵⁷ In addition, his real estate holdings were considerable, and were widely scattered. He held 1,000 acres of land in Louisiana, 160 acres in Texas, a house and lot in Richmond, Virginia, and property in Washington, D. C.—where there was a "De Bow addition." He also owned valuable real estate in the West, including from 45 to 60 lots in St. Paul, Minnesota, which he valued at \$250 to \$300 each; at least a quarter of a section worth about \$2.50 an acre in Washington County, Minnesota; two lots in Leavenworth, and lands in Brown and Doniphan counties, Kansas; a half-section in Iowa, worth \$20 an acre; and lands in Atchison County, Missouri.⁵⁸ In 1866 he sold a house and lot in Columbus, Mississippi,

⁵⁵ Numerous letters from De Bow to his wife, 1862-1864, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *De Bow's Review*, After the War Series, IV (1867), 1.

⁵⁷ He had at least \$11,362.50 in bank stocks, \$10,646.40 in railroad stocks and bonds, and \$6,734.84 in other securities.

⁵⁸ Letters to De Bow from Robert Smith, January 26, 1859, B. F. De Bow, January 9, December 26, 1861, J. Perkins, March 3, 1863, Charles Baskerville, September 22, October 2, 1866, Morgan and McLeod, June 11, August 25, 30, 1866, January 24, 1867, E. J.

for \$2,500, but retained a small farm and residence nearby, for which he refused \$1,500 in January, 1867, and "a place in cultivation" of about 700 acres near Woodville.

The war took its toll. The greater part of his investments in Confederate securities were lost—he realized only about \$500 from the sale of \$54,000 in bonds to English postwar speculators. If he made nothing from gold, which he purchased without his "accustomed sagacity," he was more fortunate with cotton.⁵⁹ Though he lost upward of \$50,000 in Confederate bonds alone, the restoration of peace found him in a strong financial position. Whatever money he had left in his Washington bank remained to his credit when the Confederacy collapsed.⁶⁰ He was in a position to make loans and additional investments. A Charleston court rendered judgment in his favor for \$1,700 in an unidentified case, probably in August, 1866.⁶¹ He was willing to leave £200 on interest in the Bank of Liverpool and to give financial assistance to planters. One of the Mazycks of Charleston was probably able to get the \$5,000 he sought from De Bow on good security and twenty per cent interest.⁶² Though nothing is known about what happened to his prewar railroad investments, he desired to purchase "coupons" of the Charleston and Memphis line in 1867.⁶³

With the restoration of peace, De Bow resumed his former liberal scale of living. He assisted friends and relatives, patronized the St. Nicholas Hotel when in New York,⁶⁴ and secured what Charles Gay-

Delaney, August 18, 1866, W. E. Gibbs, January 12, 1867, and A. N. Lancaster, January 18, 1867; all in De Bow Papers. Several of these tracts were advertised for sale in *De Bow's Review*, After the War Series, I (1866), 112, along with numerous others for whose owners De Bow was acting as agent. De Bow's Iowa land was taxed at \$63.80 in 1859, while that in Minnesota cost him about \$120 a year. Ledger V, De Bow Papers. His family lost most of this property after his death.

⁵⁹ Various communications to De Bow from the Bank of Liverpool, J. A. Ashbridge and Co., and Henry Hertz and Co., of New York, De Bow Papers.

⁶⁰ Anne W. Bacoy [?] to De Bow, September 28, 1865, *ibid.*

⁶¹ P. Phillips to *id.*, August, 1866 [?] *ibid.*

⁶² De Bow to the Bank of Liverpool, February 17, 1866, *ibid.* See, also, Cohen, Hanckel and Company to De Bow, June 8, 1866, and Louis D. DeSaussure to *id.*, January 16, 1867, *ibid.*

⁶³ W. Perrinneau Finley to *id.*, February 8, 1867, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ See receipted bill for \$244.95 for cash and expenses for himself and wife for one week, November 3, 1866, *ibid.*

arré considered "a nice home"—Fairfield—near Nashville.⁶⁵ His pecuniary success was one of the rewards his section paid for services rendered to it.

Though he was biased and lacked a profound knowledge of the subject, De Bow exerted great influence as a practical economist. The arrangement of his magazine statistics leaves little to be desired. There is, however, a dearth of interpretative comment, a lack of continuity, and some carelessness in indicating sources. He offered scholarly suggestions for improving the schedules employed in taking the seventh and subsequent censuses, and then as superintendent supplied learned introductions, erudite explanatory notes and suggestions, arranged data more succinctly, and made wider use of more carefully identified authorities. Though the seventh census was one of the great achievements of the age and his *Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States* was an incomparable array of information on the section's commercial and industrial resources, its institutions, history, and social conditions, De Bow was significant chiefly as a magazinist.

Reared in an era when the South grew conscious and fearful of its inferior position in the Union, he founded his *Review* as an organ for its defense. He believed the security of the section could come only through exploiting its rich resources, developing its backward industry, public health, and intellectual life, and encouraging and capitalizing on its natural economic and political alliance with the West. For two decades he conducted a magazine remarkable alike for tenacity of purpose and influence.⁶⁶ By the latter 1850's it became the section's semi-official spokesman. Its clientele was dispersed, poor in comparison with that of northern rivals, yet, probably no other southern journal had more than half so many subscribers or northern advertisers. The *North American Review*, far better located, with superior contributors, never had more than three-fourths as many in De Bow's time. Even *Hunt's*

⁶⁵ Gayarré to De Bow, July 4, August 25, 1866, *ibid.* Judge J. D. B. De Bow, the Editor's son, informed the writer that the luxurious "Fairfield" of the architect's drawing in the De Bow Papers was never built.

⁶⁶ Both friends and enemies, he once asserted, considered him a leader of public opinion. *De Bow's Review*, After the War Series, I (1866), 331.

Merchants' Magazine, with only four thousand in 1850, probably never surpassed the southern journal.

Rivaled in the national field only by *Hunt's*, the *Review* was virtually alone in its section as an organ for advancing mercantile interests, encouraging direct trade between the South and Europe, and promoting the commercial convention movement. The *Review* was also a planter's journal. It was devoted, however, not only to improving the culture of the staples, the soil, and plantation management, but also to forestry, the production of subsidiary crops, and horticulture. It was one of the best textbooks on slavery. Rich in suggestions for improving the institution, the magazine was exhaustive in its defense. It also became the outstanding proponent in the region of internal improvements. Hundreds of its pages were given to advocating new railroads, detailing the proceedings of their conventions, and recording the statistics of their operations. Southern manufactures had no other organ equal to De Bow's publication. An untiring advocate of their establishment, it also recorded their progress, giving copious statistics of their output and reiterating reasons why Southerners should patronize them. De Bow was sincerely interested in improving the intellectual well-being of the South. Urging state and local governments to provide elementary schools for all their white children, he desired to see public or private agencies establish libraries and institutions of higher learning. Eager to foster literature in his region, he opened his pages to the historian, biographer, fictionist, poet, and critic, and to anyone who would puff a southern work.

He endeavored from the beginning of his editorship to unite the West with the South politically as well as economically. Disclaiming interest in partisan politics, he manifested little concern over candidacies and elections until 1860. Yet for a decade he had urged the section to strengthen its governmental position in the Union. Preoccupied with the *Review's* economic and intellectual measures, he became an open and consistent advocate of secession only in 1858. From that time until the eclipse of President Johnson's reconstruction policy caused him to

revert to his original program, he looked to political remedies for the ills of the South.

Though his contributors included many of the leading scholars and writers of the section and although his pages evince some pirating and much scissoring, De Bow was always a chief writer of his magazine. His essays, constituting in the beginning the major part of a number, issued less from his contacts and observation than from his reading. Often, when other duties pressed, his self-imposed task of supplying an article a month resulted in his turning out mere hack work based on ill-digested information and marred by an excessive amount of quoted matter and borrowed subjects or conclusions. At best, however, he tried to adapt his style and structure to his readers, tempering his idealism with the practical and personalizing and revealing himself through his facts and opinions. But if he was versatile, brilliant, and capable of being vivid, he never ceased to be fond of stock phrases and high-flown rhetoric.

There was little composure, delicacy, or literary charm in his wit. Avoiding the use of dialect, he resorted on rare occasions to exhilarating exaggerations and incongruities—favorite devices of contemporary humorists. A penitentiary was “prosperous” and “well patronized”; one who accused an oysterman of quoting Homer deserved to be “shot with a pack-saddle”; and the only want of taste found in a copy of the Boston Mercantile Library’s *Proceedings* was its failure to list his *Review*. Despite their “squalid misery,” the sole occupation of the Irish seemed to be that of “multiplying their specie.” Seeing his magazine referred to as *Dr. Bow’s Commercial Review*, he was led to say “fervently—this is fame!” The remedy for an inn’s feather bed when “the thermometer . . . [was] boiling hot” was simple, “where there . . . [was] a good floor.” At Artesian Springs he met “some of the brightest Mississippians, meaning both sexes.” He naturally “shut . . . [his] eyes” when crossing a “ticklish” or weak bridge. Genius in either sex was not very desirable “matrimonially speaking when it listens to the music of the spheres whilst the bailiff makes harsh discords at the door, or sweeps the strings of Apollo instead of rocking the cradle.” Such

"household intrusions" rudely shocked his "dreams of poesy and romance," rendering life at best "a very commonplace and matter-of-fact sort of an affair."⁶⁷ He thought the Siberian custom of permitting the young women of a host's household to kiss a departing guest "a very pleasant exercise." Samuel J. Randall's ignorance of any vote having been "bought or sold" in Philadelphia in fifty years caused De Bow to dub the "virtuous" one "a know-nothing indeed."⁶⁸

De Bow seems not to have objected to pleasantries directed against himself. In time his once exemplary penmanship degenerated into "frail hieroglyphical dashes." One subscriber requested a statement of his account that he could read—one in "writing not in characters." A correspondent begged him to improve his chirography or send a glossary along with it.⁶⁹ Seated between two friends, one of whom differed with him, at the City Hotel in New Orleans in a period of high political excitement preceding secession, he became so absorbed in divesting himself of a long constitutional argument that his companions were able to eat their dinners and his before he became aware of the trick being played upon him.⁷⁰

Unequal to John R. Thompson and George William Bagby of the *Southern Literary Messenger* as a writer, and much inferior to them as a literary critic, De Bow excelled them both and all southern rivals as a magazinist. As a statistician he probably had no superior in the nation, certainly none in his region. If he instituted none of the movements of his time, perhaps no one did more to accelerate those that characterized the Old South.

⁶⁷ *De Bow's Review*, I (1846), 425 note; VII (1849), 274, 275, 466; X (1851), 697; XI (1851), 676-77; XIV (1853), 194.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XXV (1858), 186; XXVII (1859), 610.

⁶⁹ See letters to De Bow from John Ussery, June 19, 1855, Charles Baskerville, September 22, 1866, and Percy Roberts, October 25, 1866, De Bow Papers.

⁷⁰ Rainwater (ed.), "Notes on Southern Personalities," in *loc. cit.*, 215.

The Scalawag in Mississippi Reconstruction

BY DAVID H. DONALD

The scalawag is the forgotten man of Reconstruction history. In spite of the excellent work of recent revisionists,¹ the old stereotypes as to the political course of Reconstruction in the South have remained largely undisturbed. On the one hand, it is said, were the Democrats, the vast majority of the white population, battling valiantly for the creed of the Old South, and on the other the Republicans, black in morals as in skin. The Republican party, so the story goes, consisted of the great body of uneducated Negroes, dominated by carpetbaggers from the North or—worst of all—by a few renegade Southerners² opprobriously termed scalawags. These were, it is usually considered, the very lowest dregs of mankind; they were "southern white men . . . [who] sold themselves for office";³ they were the veritable Esaus of the Caucasian race.⁴

A fresh study of the Reconstruction era in Mississippi, however, casts some doubt on the conventional interpretation of the scalawag's role in that troubled time. Republicans ruled Mississippi for five years after

¹For an excellent summary of these new points of view, see Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XLV (1940), 807-27.

²An illustration of this idea in college textbooks may be found in Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *Growth of the American Republic*, 2 vols. (New York, 1942), II, 46. For other secondary accounts conveying the same ideas, see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 7 vols. (New York, 1892-1906), VI, 91; Walter L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox* (New Haven, 1919), 153; E. Merton Coulter, *A Short History of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 347; Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era* (Cambridge, 1929), 199; and many others.

³*Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527 (2 vols.), II, 1071.

⁴John S. McNeilly, "War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1863-1890," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications* (Oxford-Jackson, 1898-1925), Centenary Series, II (1918), 425-26.

its readmission in 1870, and during this period one-third of the congressmen, one of the governors, two of the three supreme court justices, and about one-third of both houses of the state legislature were southern-born white Republicans.⁵ Further analysis shows that almost every one of these officeholders had before the war been an old-line Whig and a bitter opponent of the Democrats.⁶

Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the postwar attitudes of southern Whig leaders. That party, after all, had been numerous. In 1852 its candidate in Mississippi had defeated no less a person than Jefferson Davis for the United States Senate. As Unionists the Whigs had cast a respectable vote for John Bell in 1860.⁷ And, as late as 1863, they had secured a majority in the Mississippi legislature, selected a Whig for Confederate senator, and elected a former Whig as governor.⁸ They were the wealthiest and best educated element in the state.

It has generally been assumed that after the war southern Whigs immediately joined with the Democrats to combat carpetbag and Negro rule. Actually this was far from the case. Some few Whig leaders did from the beginning urge the disbanding of the old party in favor of such an alignment,⁹ but their efforts came at a time when the Democratic party itself was virtually defunct, and when influential southern newspapers were urging a dissolution of that party.¹⁰ But Whigs were not attracted by the Democratic policies or leadership anyway. "[W]ould it not be absurd," questioned one, "for Whigs to abandon

⁵ For example, of the 83 attending members of the state constitutional convention of 1868, 48 were southern-born white Republicans or "conservatives." James W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), 187-88. Of Mississippi's 22 representatives in Congress during the period, 8 were southern white Republicans. On the supreme court justices, see Dunbar Rowland, *Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Mississippi, 1798-1935* (Jackson, 1935), 97-99.

⁶ This is certainly true of all the congressmen, of Governor James L. Alcorn, and of Chief Justice Ephraim G. Peyton. There is some uncertainty as to Justice Horatio F. Simrall's political affiliations before the war.

⁷ Percy L. Rainwater, *Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), 18-19, 199.

⁸ John K. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 52-53.

⁹ Raymond (Miss.) *Hinds County Gazette*, October 12, 26, 1870.

¹⁰ *Columbus Index*, quoted in *ibid.*, November 27, 1872. See the letter of Albert G. Brown in *Raymond Hinds County Gazette*, April 10, 1872, and James B. Ranck, *Albert Gallatin Brown: Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, 1937), 252 ff.

their high conservative position, and aid in the reorganization of the Democratic party?"¹¹ Much of the prewar bitterness between parties still remained, and the editor of one of the best papers in the state asserted: "Men who think that 'the war' knocked all of the old Whig spirit out of the Whigs are just . . . fatally mistaken."¹²

Throughout the Reconstruction period, therefore, there were efforts to reorganize the party. Again and again Whig leaders called on the Democrats to abandon their party and join other moderates in battling both Radical Republicans and radical secessionists.¹³ A general "Consultation" was held in 1870 so that Whig leaders over the state could agree on policies. The action of this group, termed by hostile Democrats "the grandest fizzle of the age,"¹⁴ reflects the difficulties in the way of a third party in the South. Finding too much resentment connected with all the old party names, these men decided that a union of conservatives should be formed, "composed of Whigs, Democrats [and] Republicans,"¹⁵ but as a commentator noted, the new party was to be "upon a Whig basis."¹⁶ No very tangible results were to come from such efforts to revive the Whig party. The appeal was, after all, to a limited class of conservative planters and business men, and popular feeling was too strong for most Southerners to repudiate Democracy.

Many Whigs had realized these difficulties from the beginning and had joined the Republicans. Within two years after readmission to the Union they were joined by most of their party. Although any statistics for this difficult period must be regarded skeptically, it has been estimated that from twenty-five to thirty per cent of the Mississippi white voters had by 1873 joined the Republican party,¹⁷ and nearly all of these

¹¹ Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, October 19, 1870.

¹² *Ibid.*, October 5, 1870. The editor was Major George W. Harper, who had been very prominent before the war as a Whig, and whose paper was now one of the most influential in the state.

¹³ See, for example, the Boonville *Recorder*, quoted in Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, October 5, 1870.

¹⁴ Vicksburg *Herald*, quoted in Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, December 7, 1870.

¹⁵ Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, November 30, 1870.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1870.

¹⁷ John R. Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction* (New York, 1913), 106. Lynch, a Negro, was speaker of the state house of representatives. For another, similar estimate,

were former Whigs.¹⁸ Such action is not hard to understand. The Whigs were wealthy men—the large planters and the railroad and industrial promoters—who naturally turned to the party which in the state as in the nation was dominated by business interests.

A glance at the leadership of the scalawag element in Mississippi confirms these generalizations. Most important of all was James Lusk Alcorn, elected first governor of the reconstructed state in 1869 and later chosen United States senator. One of the wealthiest plantation owners in the rich Mississippi delta, a large slaveholder, and a Whig opposed to secession, he had reluctantly gone with his state in 1861 and had served briefly in the Confederate army. After the war he was one of the first to admit that secession had been wrong, indeed, treasonable.¹⁹ Now a Republican leader, his program was basically a simple one: "I propose," he declared, "to vote with . . . [the Negro]; to discuss political affairs with him; to sit, if necessary, in political counsel with him."²⁰ By recognizing the legal equality of the Negroes, Alcorn hoped to gain their political support for his own policies.²¹

Alcorn's legislative program shows plainly the direction in which the Whig element hoped to lead the Republican party. First of all, the Negroes had to be conciliated by the adoption of civil rights measures.²² On economic questions the governor naturally favored the planter class, urging the rebuilding of levees, reduction of land taxes, leasing of convicts to secure a steady labor supply,²³ and state aid in the reconstruction

see Vernon L. Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1939), 285, who believes that the Republican party "included at times from fifteen to twenty thousand of the seventy to eighty thousand white votes."

¹⁸ W. H. Braden, "Reconstruction in Lee County," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, X (1909), 139; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 45, p. 746.

¹⁹ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 180. For a biographical sketch of Alcorn, see Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1907), I, 62-71.

²⁰ Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 258.

²¹ "His plan," a close personal friend testified, was "to unite the old whigs . . . and through them control the negro." Frank A. Montgomery, *Reminiscences of a Mississippian in Peace and War* (Cincinnati, 1901), 275.

²² Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 285-86.

²³ Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 435-52, gives a study of the convict leasing arrangements.

of railroads.²⁴ The powers of the state government were to be expanded in order to exercise close control over county finances. It was, of course, a program of class legislation, but it was not corrupt. The administration was both intelligent and honest, and it has not been found that any of Alcorn's followers misused their state offices for personal profit.²⁵ There is much to be said for their program of guaranteeing civil rights, improving schools, and expanding the judiciary.

The Alcorn-Whig program was not to be carried through to completion. It met with difficulties on all sides. The Democrats, of course, objected violently, partly from politics, partly from principle. It was believed that the economic policies of the Alcorn administration tended to discriminate against the predominantly Democratic hill regions in favor of the Whiggish delta bottoms. The rallying point of the Democrats was opposition to Alcorn's plan of granting the Negro legal equality. A prominent Mississippi newspaper, doubtless voicing the sentiments of its readers, felt that "Nigger voting, holding office and sitting in the jury box are all wrong, and against the sentiment of the country."²⁶ For recognizing Negro rights Alcorn became known as "an open and avowed enemy of his race."²⁷ It was asserted that "the name of Benedict Arnold ought to occupy a more exalted and honorable . . . position in the annals of american history than that of J. L. Alcorn."²⁸ A Democrat had rather be called a horse thief than a scalawag.²⁹

Carpetbaggers were also bitter against Alcorn and the southern Republicans. One Northerner declared that the governor was "an old whig and in some of his appointment he has put in his style of whig d—m rebels . . . and . . . he is fixing up a party of his own (whig) and using

²⁴ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 288-89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 322-23. Professor Garner noted that "The only large case of embezzlement among the state officers during the post-bellum period was that of the Democratic state treasurer in 1866. The amount of the shortage was \$61,962."

²⁶ Columbus *Democrat*, quoted in Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 334.

²⁷ McNeilly, "War and Reconstruction in Mississippi," in *loc. cit.*, 424.

²⁸ Eldridge McArthur to James L. Alcorn, April 21, 1871, James L. Alcorn MSS. (Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson).

²⁹ Vicksburg *Herald*, quoted in Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, May 8, 1872.

the negro for a blind.”³⁰ The basic trouble was that, though he might advocate legal equality and civil rights as a measure of expediency, the southern planter could not bring himself to accede to the Negro’s demand for social equality.³¹ Many of the carpetbaggers had come to the South with preconceived and doctrinaire ideas concerning race relations in their adopted section and felt that the Negro’s rights were not secure. More, perhaps, were disgruntled when well paid offices were filled by men of southern birth. These factors, intensified by Alcorn’s known dislike of Northerners,³² caused an early break between the Whig and the carpetbag factions of the Republican party. When the governor failed to call in federal troops after a minor disturbance in 1871, a Radical Republican charged that he was trying to gain “power and favor from the democracy at the price of . . . the blood of his friends.”³³ After two years of rule by Alcorn, another was convinced that “old line whigs are worse men to-day than any whipped (in the war) Democrats.”³⁴

The Negroes, too, were dissatisfied with the Alcorn regime. Increasingly conscious of the importance of their votes, they demanded a share of the offices proportional to their numerical strength. The freedmen cared little about the Whigs’ economic policies, but they distrusted their former owners and, prompted by the carpetbag leaders, were inclined to demand social and civil equality.³⁵

The opposition of any one of these elements would have been formidable, and the chances for men of Alcorn’s views to succeed were from the start very slight. But—contrary to the version of the Democratic state historians—these three groups worked closely together to bring about Alcorn’s defeat. As early as 1871 the Democrats approached the

³⁰ Beatty to Shill, June 21, 1870, Alcorn MSS. This is a copy, in which the given names and initials of both men have been omitted, and it has not been possible to identify them further.

³¹ Wharton, “The Negro in Mississippi,” 319.

³² *House Reports*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 22, p. 450. Note, however, that Alcorn himself was born in the North.

³³ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 291, note 4.

³⁴ Jackson *Pilot*, quoted in Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, August 23, 1871.

³⁵ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 293.

carpetbag group for a political alliance.³⁶ This alignment was strikingly revealed the following year when Democrats and Radical Republicans joined forces to prevent a Whig paper from securing the lucrative state printing contract.³⁷ Hoping to break the governor's control of the colored vote, the Democrats encouraged the political aspirations of the Negroes,³⁸ while carpetbaggers were more successful in organizing the blacks into Union Leagues.

The real test of the Whig program occurred in 1873, when Alcorn—who had resigned to take a seat in the United States Senate, leaving a faithful disciple in his place at Jackson—decided to run again for governor. His opponent for the Republican nomination was Adelbert Ames, a carpetbagger born in Maine and a son-in-law of Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts. Ames—variously characterized by the Democrats as “Addle-pate” Ames or “onion headed” Ames³⁹—was a man of real ability and had a sincere belief in his duty to protect Negro rights, which he felt Alcorn was neglecting.⁴⁰ When the carpetbagger secured the Republican nomination, Alcorn bolted and formed a new party of his own, composed almost entirely of former Whigs.⁴¹ Though this group had the nominal endorsement of the Democrats,⁴² many Democratic leaders voted for the carpetbagger rather than for the delta planter.⁴³ Ames was elected by a huge majority.⁴⁴ While conservative papers blamed Alcorn's defeat on the indifference of the Democrats, it might also be attributed to the growing realization by the Negro of his political power.

This election of 1873 marked the end of a period. Former Whigs had joined and then dominated the Republican party in Mississippi.

³⁶ *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, I, 21.

³⁷ Raymond *Hinds County Gazette*, February 7, 21, 28, April 24, May 1, 1872.

³⁸ Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875* (New York, 1876), 76.

³⁹ *Hazellhurst Mississippi Democrat*, September 1, 1875.

⁴⁰ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 290.

⁴¹ McNeilly, “War and Reconstruction in Mississippi,” in *loc. cit.*, 462-63.

⁴² Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction*, 76.

⁴³ McNeilly, “War and Reconstruction in Mississippi,” in *loc. cit.*, 466. Among these was a future governor of the state, John M. Stone.

⁴⁴ *Appleton's American Annual Cyclopaedia* (New York, 1862-1903), XIII (1873), 515. Ames received 74,307 votes; Alcorn, 52,904.

They had sponsored a legislative program that would attract to their party sound and conservative men regardless of former political affiliation. Now, repudiated by the Negro and carpetbag sections of the Republican party and rejected by the more fanatical element of the Democrats, they were thoroughly defeated. They had no choice but to make their way slowly and reluctantly over to the Democratic camp.

The exciting next two years are the best known portion of the state's Reconstruction story. The account of the final restoration of "home rule" in Mississippi has been told many times by historians attracted by the drama of the carpetbag debacle. It was a time when party feelings ran high and when race relations were at a critical point. Old residents of the state still recall vividly the tension and excitement of these years. Mississippi was torn between two hostile political camps, and there was no longer a place for middle-of-the-road, Whig policies.

Beginning in 1874 the Democrats made definite plans to carry the elections of the following year, by persuasion if possible, by force if necessary. This is the entire content of the Mississippi Plan of 1875.⁴⁵ Objecting on many grounds to the corruption and excesses of the Radicals, they made the drawing of a color-line the central theme of their campaign—the universal opposition of all white men to any Negro participation in politics.⁴⁶ In order to secure the goal of white supremacy—meaning, of course, a Democratic victory—it was necessary first to rally all Democrats to the party standard, then to persuade the scalawags to vote on the color-line, to harry carpetbaggers out of the state, and to frighten the Negroes from the polls.

At the same time the Republican party was becoming a well-oiled political machine. Under the shrewd carpetbag leadership the Negroes were herded into the notorious Union Leagues and voted in droves as their leaders dictated. Both state and federal patronage were used to bolster a weakening regime. To an increasing extent the Republican party stressed the necessity for social and civil equality for its black

⁴⁵ Frederic Bancroft, *A Sketch of the Negro in Politics* . . . (New York, 1885), 61.

⁴⁶ A good statement of the color-line creed can be found in *House Reports*, 43 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 263, p. iii.

members. And to an increasing extent southern-born white leaders were discarded for carpetbaggers or Negroes.

In this crisis Mississippi Whigs had to choose between open support of color-line policies and a program which they firmly believed would lead to racial amalgamation. While to some it was Hobson's choice, there could never have been any doubt as to the course the majority would eventually take. As men of wealth and property they were indignant over extravagances of the carpetbag government, which were reflected in high taxes; they disliked the Northerners as aliens and resented their control over the Negroes; they were alarmed by the facility with which federal troops could be called in whenever the Republicans seemed about to lose an election. But it was the Negro that was the deciding factor. For the southern planter who had never been able to accept ideas of racial equality, the present political power and organization of the colored vote, accompanied by Radical proscription of conservative white leaders, made opposition to the Republicans inescapable.

Under these pressures the former Whigs gradually drifted into an alliance with their Democratic foes of previous years. Even former Governor Alcorn participated in color-line meetings in his county, and he publicly declared that he was not and really never had been a "negro Republican."⁴⁷ On the few recalcitrants tremendous social and economic pressure was exerted. Democratic papers carried conspicuously the names of white Republicans who must no longer be spoken to on the street and whose attentions must be scorned by "every true woman."⁴⁸ The scalawag who persisted in his obduracy was publicly labeled "a beast in man's clothing" or "a traitor to his country."⁴⁹ Those who failed to renounce their Republican affiliations faced ostracism.⁵⁰ "No white man," a former Republican wrote, "can live in the South in the future and act with any other than the Democratic party."⁵¹

Heartened by Whig support, the Democrats waged a lively campaign.

⁴⁷ Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 333; Peter J. Hamilton, *Reconstruction (The History of North America)*, edited by Guy Carleton Lee, XVI, Philadelphia, 1905), 549.

⁴⁸ *Canton Mail*, quoted in Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 336.

⁴⁹ *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 54, p. 648.

⁵⁰ Nordhoff, *The Cotton States*, 81.

⁵¹ Quoted in Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction*, 122.

There were political demonstrations in every town: parades two miles long,⁵² fireworks and Confederate cannon,⁵³ floats and transparencies of spectacular size,⁵⁴ barbecues, picnics, and interminable speeches.⁵⁵ Half the villages in the state claimed the local rally as "The Grandest Affair of the Campaign."⁵⁶ The more martial elements, donning the red-shirt badge of southern manhood, formed armed rifle companies and drilled and marched in public. These were no secret Ku Kluxers; they wanted the Negro and his friends to know that the entire white population of Mississippi was against continuance of Republican rule.⁵⁷

Most of the color-liners were convinced that efforts to win the colored votes would fail, and it was felt that the best policy was to keep the Negroes from the polls. Republican meetings were disturbed by red-shirt horsemen who remarked loudly that "maybe they might kill a buck that day."⁵⁸ When Confederate cannon were fired in the immediate vicinity of Negro rallies, the terrified freedmen believed the war had begun again.⁵⁹ There were countless tales of torchlight processions, of disrupted Republican rallies, of nocturnal raids, of whippings, and worse.⁶⁰ Whenever the Negroes tried to retaliate, there occurred a race riot. At least a dozen of these conflicts happened during the campaign, and in every case the result was the same. Trained bands of white men were able to defeat the badly-led Negroes; dozens of blacks were killed, few if any whites injured.⁶¹

⁵² Susan Dabney Smedes, *A Southern Planter* (London, 1889), 229-30.

⁵³ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 374, note 2.

⁵⁴ Hazelhurst *Mississippi Democrat*, October 13, 1875.

⁵⁵ Ernest F. Puckett, "Reconstruction in Monroe County," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, XI (1910), 145-46.

⁵⁶ Hazelhurst *Mississippi Democrat*, October 13, 1875.

⁵⁷ For a thorough discussion of the rifle clubs, see Ross H. Moore, "Economic and Social Conditions during Reconstruction in Mississippi" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1938).

⁵⁸ *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, I, 757.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 88-90.

⁶⁰ Among many examples, the following articles in the *Mississippi Historical Society Publications* may be cited: John U. Kyle, "Reconstruction in Panola County," XIII (1913), 71; Fred M. Witty, "Reconstruction in Carroll and Montgomery Counties," X (1909), 127; and Julia C. Brown, "Reconstruction in Yalobusha and Grenada Counties," XII (1912), 252.

⁶¹ The following articles in the *Mississippi Historical Society Publications* contain important accounts of race riots: Fred Z. Browne, "Reconstruction in Oktibbeha County,"

Every race riot brought two results. The whites were more solidly united than ever. Whig and Democrat, secessionist and unionist, and even Confederate and Federal joined hands against what they regarded as aggression from the carpetbag-Negro combination. And on the other hand, the Republican party was completely demoralized. The Negroes were terrified;⁶² President Grant refused to send additional troops;⁶³ and Governor Ames, to prevent a race war, virtually surrendered to the Democratic leaders.⁶⁴ The Republican regime in Mississippi was doomed.

The important elections of 1875 were ominously quiet.⁶⁵ As one observer put it, the Negroes were afraid to make any trouble and the whites did not need to.⁶⁶ Election frauds, in spite of a number of hair-raising tales,⁶⁷ seem not to have been unusually large. The result was a sweeping Democratic success. Virtually all the counties now passed under the control of color-line administrations. The whites gained heavy majorities in both houses of the legislature and elected all but one of the congressmen, while in the only general race the Democratic candidate for state treasurer had a lead of over thirty thousand votes.⁶⁸

The sequel of the election may be noted very briefly. The Republican governor, Ames, and the lieutenant governor were impeached when the new legislature met. The former, although there was no real case against him, resigned, and the latter was convicted.⁶⁹ By 1876 "home

XIII (1913), 289-91; Robert Bowman, "Reconstruction in Yazoo County," VII (1903), 127-219; Charles H. Brough, "The Clinton Riot," VI (1902), 53-63. See also, Wharton, "The Negro in Mississippi," 350 ff.

⁶² See the letters from various Negro leaders to Governor Ames, in *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, II, Doc. Ev., 89 ff.

⁶³ The President was reported to have said that "the whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South." *Appleton's American Annual Cyclopaedia*, XV (1875), 516.

⁶⁴ Frank Johnston, "The Conference of October 15th, 1875, between General George and Governor Ames," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VI (1902), 65-77.

⁶⁵ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 392.

⁶⁶ *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, II, 1200.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 496; Bowman, "Reconstruction in Yazoo County," in *loc. cit.*, 130; Braden, "Reconstruction in Lee County," in *loc. cit.*, 143; Witty, "Reconstruction in Carroll and Montgomery Counties," in *loc. cit.*, 128; and many others.

⁶⁸ *Appleton's American Annual Cyclopaedia*, XV (1875), 517.

⁶⁹ Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 401-410.

rule" was officially restored, and Mississippi has ever since been a Democratic state.

The combination of force and intimidation known as the Mississippi Plan received much attention in other southern states, where Democratic leaders imitated the Mississippi tactics.⁷⁰ Much of the political history of the South in the decades after 1875 was centered about the idea that white supremacy could be maintained only by preventing the Negro from voting. This point of view is closely connected with the customary explanation of the success of the Mississippi Plan. It has been held by every student of Reconstruction since William A. Dunning that white supremacy in the South was secured through the intimidation of the Negro. "The real Mississippi plan," it is contended, "was to play upon the easy credulity of the negroes and inspire them with terror so that they would . . . stay away from the polls."⁷¹

This explanation seems to be an over-simplification of the problem. The difficulties of making an adequate study of a Reconstruction election in the South have seldom been realized. First of all, it is impossible to secure accurate statistics of population, since the 1870 census is almost worthless, even as an estimate. In most cases the number of potential and registered voters cannot be discovered. The disfranchised Confederate element is another unknown. It cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy what proportion of the vote each race cast, and it is even more impossible to ascertain how many Negroes were herded to the polls by Democratic landlords or by Republican politicians. Finally, the amount of actual election fraud, always considerable during the period, adds another indeterminable variable. The whole situation is one of the utmost complexity, and any sweeping generalizations must be received with caution.

But even in the face of these difficulties it can be determined that the conventional explanation of the success of the Mississippi Plan is not

⁷⁰ Alfred B. Williams, *Hampton and his Red Shirts* (Charleston, 1935), especially 21-35.

⁷¹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 134. This is the view of all the general studies of the Reconstruction period, as well as of the more specialized studies, such as Garner, Moore, Wharton, and McNeilly, cited above.

satisfactory. If the Negroes were kept from voting, there should have been fewer Republican ballots cast than in former years. This is not the case.⁷² Actually the Republicans were nearly as strong as in previous elections, and if it is admitted that most whites had by 1875 left the Republican fold, the election returns show that in reality *more* Negroes voted than ever before.

It seems safe to conclude that in the Mississippi election of 1875 the Negroes as a general rule voted the Republican ticket. But there are exceptions even to this assertion. In certain counties anti-Ames Negro Republicans joined the Democrats to fight the administration's candidates, and "fusion" tickets were elected. In some five delta counties, moreover, the Democratic vote was so large as to justify the belief that wealthy landowners "voted" their colored tenants for the Democratic party.⁷³

With the white population, the picture is somewhat clearer. To the old Democratic nucleus there were now added many recruits.⁷⁴ Southern white men who since the war had felt that the political situation was hopeless⁷⁵ now saw a chance for their principles to triumph and returned to support their party. But the greatest accession of Democratic strength came from the thousands of so-called scalawags—mostly former Whigs—who now denounced the Republican party and voted on the color-line.⁷⁶

⁷² The total Republican vote was only about 3,000 less than it had been in 1873, the year of the Ames landslide. *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, II, Doc. Ev., 144-45.

⁷³ These were Grenada, Hinds, Holmes, Tallahatchie, and Warren counties, all of which are partly in the Delta, and in all of which the Negroes were a heavy majority of the population. On "fusion," see John S. McNeilly, "Climax and Collapse of Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1874-1896," in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, XII (1912), 381 ff.

⁷⁴ In 1873 the Democratic candidate for state treasurer—also the Alcorn candidate—had received but 47,486 votes. In 1875 the color-line candidate obtained 98,715 votes. *Senate Reports*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 527, II, Doc. Ev., 144-45.

⁷⁵ Edward Mayes, *The Life, Times, and Speeches of Lucius Q. C. Lamar* (Nashville, 1896), 170-72.

⁷⁶ "The naked truth is, less than a baker's dozen of the [former] . . . Republican leaders . . . were supporters of Governor Ames in . . . 1875." Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 398.

It appears, therefore, that a number of misconceptions concerning the course of Reconstruction need revision. The southern political scene in this postwar period was never simple. In Mississippi the importance of the former Whigs has generally been neglected. Toward the beginning of Reconstruction most of these joined the Republican party. Their moderate program of gradual adjustment to the realities of Reconstruction was defeated by a combination of extremists from all parties. By 1875 these Whigs, disgusted by Radical excesses and attracted by color-line principles, had gradually changed political allegiance and joined the Democratic party. Not until this shift was completed did the Democrats win an election. The triumph of the Democratic color-line policies, known as the Mississippi Plan of 1875, would seem to be due to the successful union of all southern whites into one party rather than to the intimidation of the Negro.

Health and the Medical Profession in the Lower South, 1845-1860

BY MARTHA CAROLYN MITCHELL

The years from 1845 to 1860 formed a crucial period in the life of the South. It was an evolutionary period in economics and politics; and it saw the final attempt to justify the "peculiar institution." Believing in the superiority of a static society, men "at the South" attempted to evolve set and unchanging social customs and manners. Around this attempt has grown an erroneous impression of a finished South. Yet much of this region, particularly in the aggressive Lower South, was raw, new, and turbulent. Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, just admitted into the Union in the second decade of the nineteenth century, were rapidly growing. "From 1830 to 1840 Alabama increased its whites by 76 per cent and its Negroes by 114; Mississippi, its whites by 154 per cent and its Negroes by 197."¹ Georgia and Louisiana, though older, were rapidly changing as well.

Far from being completed, these states were passing through the same frontier stages that appeared at the same time in other western areas. They were thoroughly western in their characteristics, and the impress of frontier experience remained long after the first days of settlement had passed. Some writers insist that even today the South retains more aspects of a pioneer belt and a frontier cultural heritage than almost any other section.² If this is true today, then it seems that in the decades preceding the Civil War, the South, like the rest of the nation, consisted of a bundle of sections, each one in a different stage of frontier develop-

¹ Avery O. Craven, "The Turner Theories and the South," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), V (1939), 301.

² Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 76.

ment.³ Some were well advanced toward complexity; some were just emerging out of the wilderness. All bore some marks of the frontier and even in regions where the plantation system was well established the crude efforts at self-sufficiency and the absence of specialized services suggested the distance yet to be traveled.

In no sphere of activity was this more apparent than in that of health and medical care. Sickness and death and scarcity of the means to check the one and delay the other were as characteristic of the Lower South as of any other frontier. Here, as elsewhere, the very breaking of the soils seemed to loose disease, and exposure and poor food added their part. Physicians were few or entirely lacking, and medicines were as scarce as were those who had skill in administering them. Improvement was possible only with time.

Besides frontier conditions, the disease menace was augmented here in many ways by climate. Heavy rainfall and long, hot summers combined to make the great frontier curse—fevers—particularly widespread and deadly. The innocent-appearing mosquito dwelt in stagnant ponds unnoticed, and that there was a multitude of stagnant ponds is suggested by the fact that the South still possesses the major portion of the undrained land in the United States.⁴ As a result of the long, hot summers, habits in clothing and housing added to the propensity to disease. In neither instance did Southerners adequately prepare for winters, which often became severe. Houses with high ceilings, many windows, and wide halls were almost impossible to heat with the common open fireplaces. Clothing was seldom sufficient for winter even though the usual instructions for care of slaves stressed the importance of warm clothing particularly in swampy sections. Principles of diet also were little understood. Variety was lacking. "Corn and hog" meant too much food at times and too little at others. Southern bodies were seldom in condition to withstand unusual strain. The approach of summer, therefore, brought dreaded intestinal diseases of all types, just as the approach of winter brought respiratory diseases.

³ The five stages of pioneer development are outlined in Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 11.

⁴ Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, 22.

In addition to climatic factors that added peculiar health problems, there existed in the South an alien race which, contemporary physicians thought, required different treatment from whites. Its lower standards of both knowledge and living made it, under such conditions, a constant threat to the white families which lived in the big house above the quarters. The fact that the Negroes were in a servile position added to the difficulty and still further differentiated the health problems of this region from those of other sections. A study of disease and the battle against it in the states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana in the period from 1845 to 1860 will demonstrate these facts.

To begin with, everyday health problems of the southern states were complicated by sweeping exotic epidemics, especially severe in towns. Though perhaps not as deadly and insidious a foe as endemic diseases, these visitations in their concentrated fury aroused greater attention and discussion and were more feared than the commonplace diseases. The two most dreaded scourges were yellow fever and cholera, and almost no year passed without one or the other appearing in these four states. The two often made their ravages simultaneously.

During the nineteenth century yellow fever found one of its chief areas of diffusion in the southern states—"the region of its greatest prevalence corresponding with Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina."⁵ From Vera Cruz and Havana around to New Orleans it attacked every town on the islands and estuaries of the Gulf of Mexico. According to Dr. Daniel Drake it prevailed chiefly below the thirtieth parallel and its favorite haunts were the Gulf coasts and the delta and bluffs of the Mississippi.⁶ Yellow fever struck hardest in coastal cities, where it was designated as the "master spirit."⁷ The cities most afflicted were New Orleans, Mobile, and Savannah, and the smaller cities of Mississippi.

According to tradition, yellow fever was first introduced into New

⁵ Andrew Davidson, *Geographical Pathology*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1892), II, 844.

⁶ Daniel Drake, *A Systematic Treatise of the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America* (Philadelphia, 1854), Bk. II, 188-89.

⁷ Josiah C. Nott, "Life Insurance at the South," in *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), III (1847), 366.

Orleans by a British slave vessel in 1769,⁸ but from the second decade of the nineteenth century onward, it was an annual visitor.⁹ From 1845 to 1860, New Orleans suffered from three terrific epidemics. The first of these occurred in 1847, the second and worst in 1853 and extended into 1854 and 1855, and the third in 1858.¹⁰

In the epidemic of 1847 the mortality from yellow fever in New Orleans was 2,318, dropping to 872 in 1848, and 769 in 1849.¹¹ As is usually the case in epidemics, it was the poor who suffered most and it was the poor who had the least ability to cope with the disease. There were hardly any facilities other than the Charity Hospital to take care of the indigent sick. Its facilities were limited; its staff inadequate. Two charitable organizations, however, the Samaritans and the Young Men's Howard Society, rendered invaluable service to the entire city as well as to the poor.¹² These associations helped in later epidemics and in 1853 the Howard Association even served as the Board of Health.¹³

In this latter year the epidemic raged in unmitigated fury, justifying for the time being the outside belief that New Orleans was one great "charnel-house." The toll of deaths mounted each week with heart-breaking steadiness, reaching its greatest proportion in the last three weeks of August. Deaths during the first week of August were 947, the second 1,262, the third, 1,302, and the fourth, 1,365.¹⁴ Out of a population of 100,000 there was a probable grand total of 29,763 cases of yellow fever and the appalling total of 8,101 deaths.¹⁵ Desolation and misery were widespread. Burial conditions were horrible. At times graves could not be dug fast enough to bury corpses. At one time forty

⁸ *De Bow's Review*, II (1846), 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XV (1853), 596.

¹⁰ *Report of the Sanitary Commission of New Orleans on the Epidemic of Yellow Fever of 1853* (New Orleans, 1854), 462; George Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever* (New Orleans, 1909), 68; American Medical Association, *Transactions* (Philadelphia, 1848-1882), VII (1854), 421-533; IX (1856), 623-710.

¹¹ *Report of the Sanitary Commission of New Orleans . . . 1853*, 462.

¹² A Member of the Howard Association of New Orleans, *Diary of a Samaritan* (New York, 1860), 18, 70.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 122; American Medical Association, *Transactions*, VII (1854), 483.

¹⁴ Erasmus D. Fenner, *History of the Epidemic Yellow Fever at New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1853* (New York, 1854), 46-47.

¹⁵ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, VII (1854), 484.

corpses were left unburied for four days.¹⁶ This was the most widespread and fearful epidemic ever to prevail in Louisiana. For the first time it spread outward into the plantations and enveloped a larger number of small villages. The typical scene in these villages is shown by an endorsement on a mail-bill from the small village of Thibodauxville, Louisiana. It read: "Stores closed—town abandoned—151 cases of yellow fever—22 deaths—postmaster absent—clerks all down with the fever." In one village 68 out of its 91 inhabitants died of yellow fever.¹⁷

In 1854 and 1855 yellow fever raged in New Orleans on an epidemic scale, though the mortality was only about one-third that of 1853.¹⁸ Statistics, however, are unreliable because the city officials did not wish to frighten visitors or to give the impression that the region was unhealthful. The usual explanation, therefore, was that the majority of deaths were among unacclimated transients.¹⁹

There were comparatively few cases in 1856 and 1857; but in 1858 mortality rates jumped to epidemic proportions again with 4,855 deaths.²⁰ This epidemic followed essentially the pattern of 1853. Sporadic cases in the early summer months, steadily mounting deaths until the latter part of August or first of September, people fleeing the city, attempts to suppress the news, outside help requested and received, and the same old tale of death and desolation.

In New Orleans as in every other southern city, when epidemics developed, the fact was suppressed as long as possible by those who thought it "better to suppress the truth than cause a panic."²¹ Newspapers and journals refused to admit that an epidemic prevailed until it was impossible to ignore it any longer.²² "The public's action when epidemics broke out was more to prevent the spread of the news than

¹⁶ *De Bow's Review*, XV (1853), 616-24.

¹⁷ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, VII (1854), 459; IX (1856), 705.

¹⁸ Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever*, 68.

¹⁹ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, IX (1856), 623.

²⁰ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* (New Orleans, 1844-), XV (1858), 287; XVI (1859), 455.

²¹ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, VII (1854), 542.

²² *De Bow's Review*, XV (1853), 593.

the spread of the disease. Of the hurtful effect of the news they felt certain, of the effect of their efforts to prevent disease they were skeptical with reason."²³

Yellow fever seemed to be widespread in Mississippi, but seldom on an epidemic scale comparable to New Orleans.²⁴ Before 1853 it was restricted mainly to Natchez, Jackson, and Vicksburg. Dr. Daniel Drake, writing in 1850, said that an epidemic invasion of the country was unknown; "but in 1853 it attacked every town along the river as high as Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, every village in Mississippi and Louisiana south of Vicksburg and almost every plantation along the coast below Natchez." It prevailed among the sugar plantations as high as 150 miles above New Orleans and spared neither "age, sex, condition, [n]or color."²⁵ After 1853, yellow fever invaded the plantations each time it invaded the cities.

Although New Orleans was the most sorely afflicted of all southern cities, other coastal cities did not escape. Mobile, though on a slighter scale, experienced the three epidemics of 1847, 1853, and 1858. The epidemic of 1847 was of an "exceedingly mild and manageable character," and deaths were few.²⁶ In 1853 yellow fever struck Mobile with great violence. Out of a population of 25,000, about 8,000 fled from the city in terror. The epidemic lasted from July 11 to December 16, and 1,191 died of the disease.²⁷ Five years later it returned in a milder degree, causing only 70 deaths.²⁸

Savannah seemed to be the principal Georgia city affected by yellow fever. It experienced epidemics in 1854 and 1858. As in New Orleans and Mobile, the epidemic occurring in 1853 and 1854 decimated the population. In that epidemic, two-thirds of the people left Savannah and it was estimated that only about 6,000 remained, a majority of whom were attacked. The epidemic extended through October but

²³ Carey V. Stabler, "History of the Alabama Public Health System" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1944), 11.

²⁴ Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever*, 937-56.

²⁵ *De Bow's Review*, XVII (1854), 42.

²⁶ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, V (1848-1849), 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, X (1853-1854), 583; Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever*, 785.

²⁸ Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever*, 785.

reached its climax in September. The deaths for August were 257; September, 646; and October, 137; making a grand total of 1,040 dead.²⁹ Burial conditions were similar to those of New Orleans. It was difficult to procure coffins or to get graves dug. The dead were buried in trenches with coffins dovetailed together. The *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* said that "all business of every description, except that which relates to attending on the sick and burying the dead is at an end."³⁰ In 1858 the progress of the disease was less serious, being termed by one writer as "sporadic."³¹

Next in line to yellow fever as an exotic "fell destroyer" stood Asiatic cholera, symbolically termed the scourge of nations. Its original home was in India, but in the nineteenth century it spread outward, occurring in epidemics and pandemics.³² The first invasion of the United States was in 1832 and the second great visitation occurred in 1848-1852. The whole country was overrun a third time in 1854.³³ In the South cholera centered primarily around the Mississippi River and its tributaries.

The third pandemic, the second one to reach the United States, arrived at New Orleans in December, 1848, and the disease spread rapidly. The people reacted to the invasion in the way they usually reacted to an epidemic. "Panic seized the city; business was paralyzed. Crews of boats approaching the city refused to proceed to the pestilential place. . . . The draymen were sick and the horses were used carting the dead."³⁴ A pall of death, misery, and gloom spread over the city. During this year cholera was responsible for 25.1 per cent of the total mortality of Louisiana.³⁵ From New Orleans, the scourge spread to the plantations of Louisiana and Mississippi. It seemed to be especially fatal to the black population. During the winter and spring of 1848-

²⁹ William Harden, *A History of Savannah and Lower Georgia*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1913), I, 411-12.

³⁰ *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* (Augusta, Ga., 1836-1867), New Series, XI (1855), 465.

³¹ Augustin, *History of Yellow Fever*, 826.

³² John S. Chambers, *The Conquest of Cholera* (New York, 1938), 17-18.

³³ Davidson, *Geographical Pathology*, II, 844.

³⁴ Chambers, *Conquest of Cholera*, 197-99.

³⁵ J. D. B. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States: A Compendium* (Washington, 1854), 107.

1849 few plantations from Natchez to the Gulf were spared the ravages of this disease.³⁶

During 1850 cholera was confined to localities on or near the Mississippi and Ohio. From 1850 to 1851 it lingered in New Orleans, fed by the constant arrival of immigrants. Erasmus D. Fenner, writing in 1851, said that cholera had never been totally absent since 1848 and that it mounted up to epidemic proportions once or twice each year.³⁷ In 1854 cholera was epidemic again, but the records were swallowed up in the yellow fever epidemic of that year. Cholera remained in New Orleans after 1854, but did not again appear on an epidemic scale.³⁸

In January, 1849, cholera was carried to Mobile. It lasted from January to June, occasioning in that time only 129 deaths. Mobile's comparative immunity was attributed to the installation of a new water supply system which furnished "pure" drinking water. Cholera prevailed somewhat on the plantations, but not to the extent that it did in Louisiana and Mississippi.³⁹ According to one writer, cholera was never widespread or of long duration in Alabama.⁴⁰ This seemed to be true also of Georgia.

In conjunction with the two major exotic diseases, there were several minor ones that prevailed sporadically as epidemics. Among these were dengue, smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, typhus or ship fever, typhoid, and diphtheria. Dengue, or breakbone fever, occurred principally in Mobile and Savannah in 1850 and 1851. When it struck it prevailed almost universally, but it seldom if ever caused death.⁴¹ In the case of smallpox, the lower South was spared from severe and large-scale epidemics through the use of the great prophylaxis, vaccination. Through neglect, however, it often appeared on the plantations.

³⁶ *Southern Medical Reports* (New Orleans, 1849-1850), I (1849), 359; Chambers, *Conquest of Cholera*, 209; Davidson, *Geographical Pathology*, II, 844.

³⁷ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, IV (1851), 201.

³⁸ U. S. Surgeon General's Office, *The Cholera Epidemic of 1873* (Washington, 1875), 619.

³⁹ *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, March 23, 1850; J. D. B. De Bow, *Industrial Resources, etc. of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1853), II, 79.

⁴⁰ Stabler, "History of the Alabama Public Health System," 36.

⁴¹ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, IV (1851), 173; *Southern Medical Reports*, II (1850), 304, 389; De Bow, *Industrial Resources*, II, 79.

Measles and scarlet fever were ever-present diseases.⁴² Typhus or ship fever prevailed occasionally, but it was often confused with typhoid fever, which disease does not seem to have appeared until the early 1840's.⁴³ Then many considered it a form of bilious fever and heated arguments were carried on in the medical journals as to its identity. By the middle of the 1850's, however, most doctors conceded that typhoid was a distinct disease, and it became one of the most feared and fatal of the fever scourges. Diphtheria, primarily a disease of childhood, appeared in the late 1850's, being mentioned frequently in medical journals after 1858; but even at that time it never seemed to prevail on as large a scale as did typhoid.⁴⁴

While these exotic diseases which invaded the South were startling and dramatic in their swiftness and fury, and aroused more fear and discussion, they were not as deadly as the endemic diseases which daily exacted their toll from all classes. Perhaps the greatest "fell destroyer" of this type was malarial fever in its various forms. The second most destructive type of disease, rated by some as first, was enteric affections of all kinds, especially dysentery and diarrhoea. Respiratory diseases, particularly among the Negroes, and diseases peculiar to women and children, took their respective number of lives.

Of these endemic diseases, malaria was the curse of the frontier. "The whole advancing fringe of the frontier was, in a phrase of Hutchinson's, 'colored with malarial tinge'."⁴⁵ The South then, with its frontier conditions augmented by long, hot summers and the heavy rainfall that made a paradise for mosquitoes, was sorely stricken with all forms of malarial fever. Malaria prevailed all over the lower South. As the people moved and opened up new lands this dreaded disease appeared

⁴² American Medical Association, *Transactions*, X (1857), 127-48; *Southern Medical Reports*, II (1850), 303-304; *Charleston Medical Journal and Review* (Charleston, 1846-1860), IV (1849), 145-54.

⁴³ *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 35-55; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 21-34.

⁴⁴ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, V (1852), 664; X (1857), 127-48; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, IV (1847-1848), 1-34; VI (1849-1850), 168-75, 741-45; XVI (1859), 777-84; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Statistics* (Washington, 1866), 33 ff.

⁴⁵ Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, 392.

as their first visitor. Its extensive prevalence is suggested by the variety of names used to denominate it. Some of the names were autumnal, bilious, remittent, intermittent, miasmatic, malarial, congestive, marsh, lake, river, country, malignant, chill-fever, ague, fever and ague, dumb ague, shakes, and mainly just *the* fever. One doctor, writing in 1852, said that there was no disease in the South which the practitioner had half as much to do with or which baffled his skill so completely.⁴⁶ It was considered the chief "outlet of human life" and "the malady which for gravity . . . [was] the maximum in the chain of morbid sequences."⁴⁷

Besides direct bad effects, its indirect effect in debilitated constitutions was incalculable. Many thought the prevalent lung diseases of winter followed as sequelae to the malarial fevers of the summer. Contemporary physicians thought that Negroes were more susceptible to pneumonia than whites and the few available statistics for the period bear out their assertions. Although the census of 1860 seemed to support the contention that tuberculosis was more common in the North than in the South, Dr. Josiah C. Nott said that it was more "common than our medical gentlemen are willing to concede, yet no one will contend that as many people die South as North of diseases of the chest."⁴⁸ Next to malarial fevers, diseases of the bowels were generally accorded the position as the second greatest destroyer of life. They "ravaged through the country" to such an extent that Dr. William A. Booth remarked in 1849 that "a physician in full practice is never without a case of it."⁴⁹

In the ante-bellum South two classes of the population were set off from the rest—the women and the slaves. Both were considered as having peculiar health problems. One writer asserted that the majority of the diseases of women were due to parturition and various sexual disorders. The chivalric assumption by Southerners that women were

⁴⁶ *Transylvania Medical Journal* (Louisville, 1849-1854), New Series, II (1852), 14.

⁴⁷ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, IV (1847-1848), 12.

⁴⁸ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, V (1852), 664; IX (1856), 623-710; X (1857), 127-48; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, VI (1849-1850), 741-45; VII (1850-1851), 178-84; *Eighth Census . . .*, 1860: *Statistics*, 244, 281.

⁴⁹ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, V (1848-1849), 593.

frail and delicate and the common belief that all married women were sickly probably had more fact than fiction for their foundation.⁵⁰ The wide interest and desire to improve conditions is evinced in the hundreds of articles on women's diseases which appeared in the medical journals. The importance attributed to this subject is shown by the fact that out of the usual seven lectures at a medical college, one was always devoted to the diseases of women and children. In this period midwifery was evolving into the science of obstetrics and several of these "backwoods" doctors, such as J. Marion Sims and Josiah C. Nott, made significant contributions to gynecology. People were in the process of overcoming the old folk-belief that it was indelicate for a man to assist in childbirth, which had given full sway to the usually ignorant midwife. Medical men were working against that "false delicacy" which, they said, "too often injures females by their allowing disease to get beyond the control of medical art before they speak out."⁵¹ In the early 1850's etherization was introduced and gradually came to be used in obstetrics.⁵² Thus 1845 to 1860 was a period of transition, with conditions slowly improving.

It was generally thought that the Negro women's supposedly coarser constitution was able to withstand childbearing better than that of the more delicate white woman. Yet the statistics available show that proportionately more Negro women died of childbirth and attendant diseases than white. The large number of Negro children is often pointed to as a result of slave-breeding; yet in any frontier, rural society large families are the rule. The records show that the "delicate" lady of the manor usually had as many children as the Negro woman of the slave quarter.⁵³ Many of these children failed to reach maturity, however, as infant mortality, especially among slaves, was appalling. Dr. George F. Cooper, writing on the vital statistics of Houston County, Georgia, stated that over half the mortality occurred among those under

⁵⁰ Richard H. Shryock (ed.), *Letters of Richard D. Arnold, M.D., 1800-1876* (Durham, 1929), 15, 18; Caroline Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (Philadelphia, 1859), 50; Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1942), 67-68.

⁵¹ Shryock (ed.), *Letters of Richard D. Arnold*, 18.

⁵² Kentucky State Medical Society, *Transactions, 1852* (Frankfort, 1853), 76-77.

⁵³ *De Bow's Review*, XII (1852), 221; *Eighth Census . . . , 1860: Statistics*, 281.

five years of age and that the majority of the deaths was among the blacks.⁵⁴

The slave population, constituting 44.4 per cent in Georgia, 47.2 per cent in Louisiana, and 51 per cent in Mississippi,⁵⁵ was, like the women, believed to have, and did have, different health problems. This large group of people were in a peculiar position as regards health. They were dependent upon their owners for whatever medical care they received, and the physician had to look to the planter for payment. The general plan used was to hire a physician at a standing rate over a year to look after the Negroes or to pay a certain practitioner a specified fee for each slave he attended.⁵⁶ Drake recorded that one physician in Louisiana told him that he received a salary of \$1,200 a year from attending one plantation. This custom is one reason why beginning physicians could get into practice more readily in the South than in the North, and it enabled Dr. Richard D. Arnold to say "that *here* he stands some chance of making his bread while he has teeth to chew it."⁵⁷

Plantations, however, were often too isolated or too poor to have a regular doctor for all cases, in which instance the mistress, the overseer, or an elderly slave looked after the everyday health problems and a physician was called in only in emergencies. How widespread this custom was is shown by the numerous articles appearing in the newspapers and journals on the care of slaves, and the various advertisements of family and plantation medicines. Practically every plantation had a hospital of some kind, ranging from a rather well-equipped establishment to a few bare beds in an empty room. Here were isolated the sick cases, and here the women were brought to have their children. These hospitals were usually looked after by the mistress with the aid of the "sick

⁵⁴ *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, VII (1851), 719-25; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 276, 449; De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States*, 400.

⁵⁵ De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States*, 85.

⁵⁶ Frederick L. Olmsted, *Journey Through the Seaboard Slave States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1854), II, 358-59; Ralph B. Flanders, "Two Plantations and a County of Antebellum Georgia," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Savannah, 1917-), XII (1928), 9-10; Frances A. Kemble, *Journal of Residence on a Georgia Plantation, 1838-1839* (New York, 1863), 60; *De Bow's Review*, III (1847), 419-20; XXIV (1858), 321-24.

⁵⁷ Shryock (ed.), *Letters of Richard D. Arnold*, 33-34.

nurse" or "doctor woman," as the slave who held this position was often called.⁵⁸

Despite this care taken of slaves, the morbidity and mortality rates were tremendous. The Negroes fell heir to many diseases. The great destroyer of the white race—malarial fevers—was believed to affect the black race less, though opinion differed on this. The general consensus of opinion was that the Negroes were more susceptible than the whites to winter diseases, such as pneumonia, and less so to malaria.⁵⁹ It was not argued that the Negroes were exempt from malaria, but simply that they took the fever less often and had it in a milder form. This theory that Negroes possessed a partial immunity to certain diseases was reported by one physician as being "in accord with present medical opinion."⁶⁰ Doctors believed that the exemption applied especially in the case of yellow fever and that immunity existed in direct ratio to the amount of Negro blood. At the same time, however, disease was so prevalent among all ages and sexes of the slaves that Dr. Drake asserted that from what he had heard and read about the diseases of Liberia he believed that if half the colored population of a southwestern plantation were to be sent there, they and their descendants would probably number more in ten years than those left behind.⁶¹

Diseases then were almost omnipresent and omnipotent, but the knowledge to combat them was slight indeed. One of the principal reasons for this lag in the materia medica was the false theory entertained as to disease causation. Etiology and therapeutics are so closely intertwined that successful methods of treatment could evolve only by a hit and miss method until a more logical theory of causation was accepted.

⁵⁸ William H. Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1863), II, 258; Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1849), II, 264; Kemble, *Journal of Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, 60; *De Bow's Review*, XXIV (1858), 321-23.

⁵⁹ Josiah C. Nott and George R. Glidden (eds.), *Indigenous Races of the Earth* (Philadelphia, 1857), 353-401; *De Bow's Review*, IV (1847), 280-81; Shryock (ed.), *Letters of Richard D. Arnold*, 65-66; *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, XIV (1858), 253-54. The mortality statistics of the census of 1860 seem to corroborate this opinion.

⁶⁰ Shryock (ed.), *Letters of Richard D. Arnold*, 32, footnote 1.

⁶¹ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (1844-1845), 148, 583-84.

Before 1850 practically all doctors in these southern states believed that all fevers were caused by one great morbid factor—a miasma created by decaying vegetable and animal matter. But by the 1850's observant students were beginning to question this hypothesis. By the time typhoid fever appeared on the scene those who claimed that it was merely another form of endemic fever met with a number of opponents who claimed that it was a disease caused by a special distinguishable agent.⁶² As early as 1848, Dr. Josiah C. Nott of Mobile was insisting that even yellow fever and malaria were diseases *sui generis*. He said: "It would be a strange anomaly in nature, should it be proven that but one morbid cause of fever is generated over the broad surface of our variously compounded globe.—Fever should have its *genus* and its *species* like other things in nature." With biting logic he ripped apart the miasma theory, exhibiting its inconsistencies and showing how the peculiarities of yellow fever could be logically explained through the insect or animalcular theory. That he even seems to have had a clear conception of the insect as an intermediate host, is shown by the following:

It is probable that yellow fever is caused by an insect or animalcule bred on the ground, and in what manner it makes its impression on the system is but surmise—unless the animalcule is like that of Psora, bred in the system, we could no more expect it to be contagious than the bite of a serpent. We may therefore easily understand that it can at the same time be transportable in the form of a germ, and yet not contagious.⁶³

Though few doctors agreed with this insect theory, by 1860 a large number had discarded the theory that all fevers were merely varieties of one. Most of those who accepted the non-identity of the different fevers still believed, however, that they were caused by some form of marsh miasma.

This confusion in the causes of disease necessarily led to confusion in treatment. The period before 1830 was the golden era in America for heroic medication. The common stand-bys of the physicians were

⁶² *Ibid.*, VI (1849-1850), 712-32; *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, VIII (1852), 581-93.

⁶³ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, IV (1847-1848), 563-601.

calomel, jalap, glauber salts, castor oil, and Peruvian or cinchona bark, all of which were administered in huge quantities and accompanied by copious blood-letting. This method of medication was slowly modified, but the 1840's and 1850's found it still in use.⁶⁴

With the introduction of quinine in the 1830's, however, came a veritable revolution in therapeutics in the southern states. But the reaction went to the extreme as the new drug came to be used for practically all diseases. In the 1840's and 1850's, the battle still raged over the size of doses and the diseases for which it could be used.⁶⁵ Yellow fever and typhoid fever belatedly convinced the medical profession that there were some diseases which quinine could not cure. Empirical experiments went on and the very diversity of treatment of malarial and yellow fever indicates that they were not well understood. Erasmus D. Fenner, writing of the yellow fever epidemic of 1853, said that "almost every imaginable plan of treatment was pursued in the late epidemic, from the mildest to the most heroic, and with results as various as the plan." Yet this was changing, and by 1856 he was writing that the "experience of the last two or three years, in this region, seems to have led to the adaption of a *milder* course of practice than was formerly pursued."⁶⁶ The same medicines used in endemic fevers—quinine, opium, calomel, and blue mass—were also the chief remedies used in yellow fever. As in malarial fever, it was generally conceded that there was no specific cure for yellow fever.

This was also true of cholera. Empiricisms of all sorts were tried and one writer remarked that "the search for a specific for cholera in all its states would be as vain as that of the ancient alchemists for the philosopher's stone."⁶⁷ Quinine, opium, cups, warm fomentations, blisters,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I (1844-1845), 452; Drake, *Diseases of the Interior Valley*, 59-66; Edwin J. Scott, *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806-1876* (Columbia, S. C., 1884), 31-32.

⁶⁵ *Charleston Medical Journal*, I (1846), 9; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, VI (1849-1850), 187; X (1853-1854), 281-90; American Medical Association, *Transactions*, I (1848); *Transylvania Medical Journal*, New Series, II (1852), 14.

⁶⁶ *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 117-20; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 21-34; American Medical Association, *Transactions*, VII (1854), 545; IX (1856), 623-710.

⁶⁷ *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 149.

and astringents were used; but calomel seemed to be the universally favorite remedy.

Despite the confusion, progress in therapeutics was being made. By the 1850's heroic medication was definitely on the decline, particularly in the use of the lancet, which had formerly been widespread. Though as usual there were a few die-hards who still considered the lancet the "sheet-anchor of the profession," the majority agreed with Dr. Robert Word of Georgia who said "to bleed, purge, blister, and calomelize is only to kill."⁶⁸

Little progress in preventive medicine, however, could be expected until the populace ceased from considering disease as a "visitation from Providence" and tried to do something about it, and until the causes of diseases and their mode of propagation were better understood. Failure to understand the etiology of disease, led to such ridiculous proposals as the firing of cannon in New Orleans during the yellow fever epidemic of 1853 and the sprinkling of lime on the streets of Mobile to ward off cholera. Yet it is amazing how close they came through mere empirical observation to removing the causes of disease. They realized that swamps and inundations of all kinds were dangerous and physicians were practically unanimous in advocating drainage and improved sanitary conditions. A few abortive attempts at quarantine were tried and practically all cities set up boards of health at one time or another, but Louisiana was the only state to establish a state board of health. This was done in 1855. The only state to legislate on the subject of smallpox vaccination was Mississippi, which established a vaccine depot at Jackson in 1846. The depot was required to keep a supply of fresh and genuine vaccine virus, to disseminate information, to keep records, and to vaccinate free of charge anyone who applied.⁶⁹ In general, how-

⁶⁸ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (1844-1845), 15; II (1845-1846), 256; VII (1850-1851), 178-84; *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, VII (1851), 266, 396-99; Drake, *Diseases of the Interior Valley*, 860-62.

⁶⁹ Joseph Jones, *Acts of the Legislature Establishing and Regulating Quarantine* (New Orleans, 1880), 1-8; Felix J. Underwood, *A Brief History of Public Health and Medical Licensure, State of Mississippi, 1799-1930* (Jackson, 1938), 5; John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1922), II, 591; *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 88; *De Bow's Review*, II (1846), 73.

ever, the attempts at preventive medicine created scarcely a ripple on the vast sea of disease. Public health would have to wait until knowledge increased and the public gained confidence in the medical profession.

In the minds of the populace in this period, respect for the medical profession seemed to be declining instead of gaining. Disputes within the profession over causes of diseases and contagion, and the evident failure in treatment, led to a contemptuous attitude on the part of the people. The frontier condition of few and poorly trained physicians aggravated this tendency. Even in 1850, after conditions had improved somewhat, Alabama had only 1,264 physicians to a population of 771,623, or one physician to every 610 people. In Georgia the ratio was one physician to 697 persons; in Louisiana, one to 567; and in Mississippi, one to 498.⁷⁰ Population increased faster than the doctors.

One result of this frontier condition was that the home became the great national dispensary of medicine and the lady of the house administered to the ill through her own knowledge, aided by a trusty medical handbook such as *Bright's Family Practitioner, a Plain System of Medical Practice for the Family*. Another result was the repeal of practically all legal requirements. In a report to the American Medical Association in 1849 on the legal requirements of practitioners in various states, the summary of the statements about Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi was that they had little or no requirements. These were harsh statements and the organized medical profession of Alabama presented a vigorous protest and refutation memorial to the American Medical Association. Yet much of the criticism was just. In 1845 the Alabama legislature had legalized Thomsonian practice or steam doctors, as they were called, and had even gone so far as to set up a so-called Medical University, at Wetumpka, for this sect.⁷¹ In 1852 the Louisiana legislature repealed the fee laws, which had been some protection for regularly trained physicians.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, X (1854), 766.

⁷¹ *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston, 1828-), XXXIII (1845-1846), 465-66; Richard H. Shryock, *Development of Modern Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1936), 254.

⁷² *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XLVI (1852), 384.

This lowering of legal requirements was due not only to lack of respect for physicians, but to the frontier need for more doctors and to the democratic spirit characteristic of a frontier. Any effort to legislate on the subject raised the cry of monopoly and destruction of individual rights, and one editor remarked that "legislation against quackery is as powerless as logic, learning, and the decalogue."⁷³ Self-medication and quackery were said by Dr. S. A. Cartwright, of Mississippi, to be "the third and main cause of the great mortality of this valley, besides what is caused by the direct agency of ignorant and empirical practitioners."⁷⁴ As this indicates, lack of training among many of the practitioners led to empiricisms of all sorts. In the less developed areas of the states for many years a medical graduate was a novelty. It was not until 1837 that any medical man of Bibb County, Alabama, had heard a medical lecture, and not until 1849 did a medical graduate begin to practice there.⁷⁵

By the 1840's and 1850's, this situation was rapidly changing. More and more students were attending medical lectures and during this period a number of new colleges, particularly in Georgia, made their appearance. Before 1845 there were only five medical colleges in the entire South, one of which was at Augusta, Georgia, and one at New Orleans. Prospective physicians from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi who did not attend these two institutions usually went to Philadelphia or New York. These two cities seemed to be the centers of attraction for southern medical students. Third in popularity were probably the schools of Kentucky. First choice here was the Transylvania Medical College, later absorbed into the Louisville Medical Institute.⁷⁶ Alabama and Mississippi, having no college of their own, naturally sent more students out of the state than did Georgia and

⁷³ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, X (1853-1854), 822.

⁷⁴ *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Louisville, 1840-1855), Third Series, I (1848), 185-206.

⁷⁵ Stabler, "History of the Alabama Public Health System," 5.

⁷⁶ *Catalogue of the Graduates of the Louisville Medical Institute and Medical Department of the University of Louisville from 1838 to 1853, Inclusive* (Louisville, 1853), 11-31.

Louisiana. Some went to the Medical College of South Carolina. The few students who studied abroad usually went to France or Germany, and to England. But until 1859 Philadelphia gathered into its fold most of the southern students who went north to study. Almost every prominent southern physician had studied in this city at some time. In December, 1859, however, there occurred an event which was perhaps a harbinger of the mighty schism to come two years later. As a protest to the Harper's Ferry episode, approximately two hundred southern students seceded from the medical colleges of Philadelphia and moved in a body down to the Medical College at Richmond, where they were joined by a few students from New York.⁷⁷ This increasing sectional tension which made the states desire to arrest the "annual pilgrimage of Southern young men to the medical schools of the North,"⁷⁸ plus the need of physicians in a rapidly growing country gave impetus to the multiplication of medical colleges in the lower South.

In 1850 New Orleans added a second school, the New Orleans School of Medicine, to share the work with the already prosperous Medical Department of the University of Louisiana.⁷⁹ By 1860 both of the schools together brought the number of medical students in New Orleans to six hundred, and thereby gave New Orleans the third largest medical student body in the United States.⁸⁰ The number of medical colleges in Georgia increased from one to five, and through the leadership of Dr. Nott, Alabama established a medical college in time to graduate two classes before the Civil War.

These southern colleges were not very different from those of the North. The standard organization of several teachers and a demonstrator of anatomy was the same in both sections. The average term in northern colleges was usually five months; in the South it tended to

⁷⁷ *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review* (Philadelphia, 1857-1861), IV (1860), 188-89.

⁷⁸ *New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette* (New Orleans, 1854-1861), III (1856-1857), 163.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 620.

⁸⁰ A. E. Fossier, "History of Medical Education in New Orleans from Its Birth to the Civil War," in *Annals of Medical History* (New York, 1917-1942), VI (1934), 320, 351-52.

be a little shorter, lasting about four months. The requirements for graduation were slight and were practically the same all over the nation.⁸¹ Instruction, particularly in the newer colleges, may have been inferior, but it at least provided many students a heretofore impossible opportunity to attend some medical lectures. By 1860, therefore, most of the physicians had had a minimum of a year or two of study with a preceptor and had heard one or two courses of lectures.

Though the general level of education may have been low, there were doctors all over the South who stood out as beacon lights and who attempted through their works and writings to raise the general level of the profession. They toiled diligently and made several original contributions to the science of medicine. In this period Alabama had a splendid galaxy of such physicians. Ranking among the ablest doctors of the nation were J. Marion Sims, Nathan Bozeman, Josiah Clark Nott, William Baldwin, and William Boling. Outstanding physicians in Georgia were Paul Fitzsimons Eve, Louis A. Dugas, Richard D. Arnold, and Crawford W. Long. In Louisiana, C. A. Luzenberg, Warren Stone, Edward H. Barton, and Bennett Dowler deserve special mention.⁸² Mississippi failed to produce a really outstanding physician in this period.

The work of these individual doctors did much to raise the level of the profession, yet perhaps more significant was the work of the organized medical societies. As education increased and the doctors became more vocal through their medical journals, there arose a demand for

⁸¹ Statement by Samuel D. Gross and T. G. Richardson in *The Louisville Review* (Louisville, 1856), I, 400-401. See also, *Charleston Medical Journal*, VI (1851), 753-56; American Medical Association, *Transactions*, II (1849), 294; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, XVII (1860), appendix; *De Bow's Review*, XIII (1852), 212-15.

⁸² For brief sketches of these physicians, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), and Howard A. Kelly and Walter L. Burrage (eds.), *Dictionary of American Medical Biography* (New York, 1928). Further information on some of them appears in J. Marion Sims, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1884); William B. Atkinson, *The Physicians and Surgeons of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1878); Edmond Souchon, *Original Contributions to American Medical Science* (Philadelphia, 1917); Howard A. Kelly, *American Medical Biographies* (Baltimore, 1920); Samuel D. Gross, *Lives of Eminent Physicians and Surgeons of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1861); and in the files of contemporary medical periodicals.

organization. Before 1845 none of these four states had state medical societies, though there were several well organized local societies. The Medical Society of the State of Georgia was organized in Macon on March 20, 1849.⁸³ The oldest society was the Georgia Medical Society at Savannah, incorporated in 1804.⁸⁴ From 1849 to 1860 the following local societies are listed in the *Transactions* of the American Medical Association: Auxiliary Medical Society of Macon, Chatham County Medical Society, Columbus Medical Association, Augusta Medical Society, DeKalb County Auxiliary Medical Society, and the Atlanta Medical Society.

In Louisiana two local societies, the Louisiana Medico-Chirurgical Society and the Physico-Medical Society, were holding fairly regular meetings before 1845.⁸⁵ Three other local societies are mentioned in the American Medical Association *Transactions*, and as in Georgia, the State Medical Society was formed in 1849.

Mississippi seemed to be especially laggard in organizing medical societies. There is some conflict over whether a state society was ever formed. The evidence seems to show that a medical society was organized for a few years in the 1840's, but it published nothing, died out, and interest was not sufficient to revive it.⁸⁶

Alabama had active local societies in Selma, Mobile, and Montgomery, and physicians from these organizations dominated the State Society which was organized in 1848. There were several other local societies in the northern and central portions of the state as well.⁸⁷

Influential in the forming of state medical societies and in the direction of their work was the American Medical Association. These four

⁸³ *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 344.

⁸⁴ Richard D. Arnold, *An Address before the Georgia Medical Society on Its 64th Anniversary, January 8, 1868* (Savannah, 1868), 9-16.

⁸⁵ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 224.

⁸⁶ *Southern Medical Reports*, I (1849), 255; *New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette*, III (1856-1857), 624; *Boston Medical Journal*, XXXVIII (1848), 227; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 683-85; American Medical Association, *Transactions*, X (1857), 13.

⁸⁷ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, X (1857), 13; *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, I (1844-1845), 99; II (1845-1846), 224; Stabler, "History of the Alabama Public Health System," 45.

states early affiliated with this national society and gave it enthusiastic support. Southern physicians filled many official posts in the antebellum society. Richard D. Arnold of Georgia is credited with aiding in its founding, and he was selected as the first secretary of the Association (1847-1848).⁸⁸ Other Southerners held many important chairmanships and contributed valuable reports to the Association.⁸⁹

Thus through national and state organizations the profession worked to diffuse medical knowledge, build up ethics and a standard fee system, raise education and legal requirements, and in general improve the profession. Characteristic of the purpose of these societies is the preamble to the 1854 constitution of the Louisiana State Medical Society which states as its objects ". . . the advancement of the usefulness, and the elevation of the character of the Medical Profession, and the promotion of the interests of its members, the promotion of Medical Science, and the diffusion of information upon collateral subjects."⁹⁰ Expressing the opinion of the more enlightened doctors, the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal* said in 1845, "We wish that the physicians of every county and parish throughout the South, would form themselves into . . . associations; nothing is better calculated to unite, strengthen and promote the best interests of the Profession."⁹¹

In conclusion it may be said that although little was done to check the havoc which disease was wreaking on the lives and physiques of Southerners of this period, foundations for future advancement were being laid. Heroic medication was rapidly passing into oblivion and mild, sane treatment was taking its place. Students were thinking about and questioning the old accepted ideas concerning contagion, importation, and *sui generis* diseases. The germ theory and the insect theory for the transmission of diseases were, at least, being mentioned. Through education and organization, professional knowledge was

⁸⁸ *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 371.

⁸⁹ American Medical Association, *Transactions*, I (1848), 29; III (1850), 422; IV (1851), 645; VII (1854), 12; VIII (1855), 22; X (1857), 623; XIII (1860), 22-24, 861.

⁹⁰ Louisiana State Medical Society, *Proceedings, Fifth Session, 1856* (New Orleans, 1856), 3.

⁹¹ *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, II (1845-1846), 224.

increased and more widely diffused, and physicians were being given some training in concerted efforts. These improvements, then, were the roots from which was to grow increased public respect and confidence. They were necessary before the public health systems of the future could be inaugurated to serve as a more effective means for alleviating the distressful suffering of the people of these southern states.

Winifred and Joseph Gales, Liberals in the Old South

BY CLEMENT EATON

Pericles in his Funeral Oration praised the Athenians for their tolerance. According to the report of Thucydides, he said: "Not only in our public life are we liberal, but in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes, nor do we put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant." Something of this admirable attitude of the Athenians of the fifth century was demonstrated in the society of the Upper South during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The case of Winifred and Joseph Gales presents an attractive picture of tolerance in the urban society of North Carolina during this period. Joseph Gales was an antislavery man and a Unitarian, views that did not prevent him from being mayor of Raleigh for nineteen years and the editor of the leading newspaper of the state. Winifred, his wife, was one of the genuinely intellectual women of the Old South, who occupied a rather singular position in a society that hampered the intellectual development of women by the restraints of the romantic stereotype.

They were not native-born Southerners, but were refugees from England who became acclimated in the South. Joseph Gales was born in Eckington, near Sheffield, England, the son of the village schoolteacher. He was apprenticed to the printer's trade at Newark-on-Trent. Here he met Winifred Marshall, a cousin of Lord Melbourne, whom he married. They established their home in Sheffield, where Joseph Gales in 1787 founded the *Sheffield Register*. Their home became a rendezvous for reformers and free thinkers. Gales was a champion of the liberal movements stirring England at the close of the eighteenth century, the

cause of labor, the efforts to abolish imprisonment for debt, the emancipation of the slaves, and the adoption of manhood suffrage. In his bookshop he sold the writings of Thomas Paine, and he expressed strong sympathy for the French Revolution. His criticisms of the conservative government of William Pitt the Younger led to his exile from England. He fled to Altona, in Holstein, and to Hamburg, where Winifred joined him after the sale of the bookshop and newspaper in England. Winifred always remembered gratefully the kindness of the people of Germany, "where we first sought an asylum from the oppression of a corrupt administration."¹ Here Joseph Gales learned the skill of writing shorthand, which proved later to be of immense advantage to him in his career as a newspaper man.²

In 1795 he brought his family across the Atlantic to Philadelphia. In this capital of the United States he resumed his profession of free lance editor. Purchasing the *Independent Gazetteer*, he changed its name to *Gales's Independent Gazetteer*, the first issue of which came from the press on September 16, 1796. His prospectus promised his subscribers that he would give an impartial relation of political measures, report the Congressional debates, furnish authentic foreign news, and publish poetry and essays.³ It was dominated by a humanitarian spirit, containing articles against the slave trade, on the folly and wickedness of war, and in favor of a liberal policy toward immigrants. Gales also wrote sympathetically of the religious reformer, Dr. Joseph Priestley, who was giving lectures in Philadelphia, praising him for his "virtuous tranquility of mind,"⁴ which his persecutors did not enjoy.

¹ Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, October 16, 1821, in Jared Sparks Papers (Harvard University Library). Photostat copies of the correspondence between the Gales and Sparks (47 items) are in possession of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History at Raleigh, listed as Gales Papers, 1800-1864.

² Reliable accounts of the main facts in the career of Gales are found in an obituary in the *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, August 28, 1841; in [Josephine Seaton], *William Winston Seaton of the "National Intelligencer"* (Boston, 1871), especially pp. 27-88; and in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), VII, 99-100.

³ *Gales's Independent Gazetteer*, September 16, 1796. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, has a file of this rare publication for the period from September 16, 1796, to March 15, 1797.

⁴ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1797.

At this time the leaders of the Republican party in North Carolina were looking for a forceful editor to start a Jeffersonian newspaper in the capital of the state. The Federalist newspaper, the *North Carolina Minerva*, had a monopoly of the field, and an organ of the opposition party was badly needed in the state. Nathaniel Macon, the Jeffersonian leader of North Carolina, persuaded Gales to locate in Raleigh and edit a Republican organ.⁵ On October 22, 1799, he founded the *Raleigh Register*, named after the *Sheffield Register* in England. The next year he was elected state printer by the victorious Republicans, an office which amounted to a form of subsidy and which he continued to hold until after the election of President Jackson. In 1832 he left the operation of the *Register* and his multifarious business enterprises, including a paper mill, to his son, Weston, while he and Mrs. Gales moved to Washington, D. C.⁶

The pre-eminence of Gales as a newspaper editor and publisher in North Carolina was due to a variety of factors. In Philadelphia he had been a pioneer in reporting the debates of Congress, using his recently acquired skill of shorthand, and on his removal to North Carolina he introduced this practice in the *Raleigh Register*.⁷ Furthermore, he increased its circulation by sending copies of his newspaper gratis to prospective subscribers. A factor in his success as a southern editor was his close connection with the powerful *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D. C. When Gales decided to move to North Carolina, he sold his Philadelphia newspaper to a brilliant young journalist, Samuel Harrison Smith, who in 1800 transferred it to Washington and renamed it the *National Intelligencer*, under which name it was destined to become the great newspaper at the national capital. In 1807 Joseph Gales, Jr., after graduating from the University of North Carolina, joined the *National Intelligencer* as reporter of Congressional debates. Later he acquired the newspaper in partnership with William Winston Seaton,

⁵ William E. Dodd, *Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh, 1903), 158. James M. Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1917), 106-107, emphasizes the prevalence of yellow fever as a factor in Gales' decision to emigrate to North Carolina.

⁶ Winifred Gales to Sparks, August 1, 1833, Gales Papers.

⁷ Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, 1941), 176-77, 189.

who had married Joseph Gales' daughter.⁸ As a result of these connections, the senior Gales enjoyed the advantage of acquiring news quickly from Washington and from abroad.

The policies followed by the *Register* proved popular among the dominant element of the state. Gales was, for example, a strong Union man during the nullification crisis, a movement which the responsible leaders of the state declined to support. The North Carolina editor had much in common with another significant journalist of the period, Hezekiah Niles of Baltimore, whose *Niles' Weekly Register* enjoyed a national patronage.⁹ Like the Quaker editor, Gales was an ardent democrat and nationalist, a peace advocate, an opponent of dueling, and a champion of educating the people.¹⁰ His interest in the economic development of Raleigh was shown by a petition which he sent to the United States Bank, urging the establishment of a branch bank in Raleigh.¹¹ In regard to slavery, he followed a moderate course. Although he was an antislavery man, he did not boldly attack the institution as did the Quaker editor of the Greensborough *Patriot*, William Swaim. In 1816 he was requested by some Quakers to publish an antislavery address which had been delivered before their Manumission Society. He replied in a frank letter: "I am not willing to insert it in the *Register*. It is on a subject which the people of the state will not hear discussed with temper at present, it might also produce consequences of a direful kind by getting into the hands of the Slaves, for many of them can read—I wish with you that an end could be put to Slavery but it will be of no use to attack the people's prejudices directly in the face, it must be brought about by slow, but gradual means. If you wish the copy returned say so."¹² Gales served as secretary and

⁸ Seaton, *William Winston Seaton of the "National Intelligencer,"* 80.

⁹ Norval N. Luxon, "H. Niles, the Man and the Editor," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XXVIII (1941), 27-40.

¹⁰ In a letter to Jared Sparks, February 8, 1820, Joseph Gales gave a list of the academies in North Carolina—23 male and female institutions, 13 male, and one female, the last in the Moravian town of Salem. Gales Papers.

¹¹ Petition from Joseph Gales, Sr., and John Haywood, October 21, 1817, in Bank of the United States MSS. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library), II, 60.

¹² Quoted in Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), 164.

treasurer of the American Colonization Society for six years, but resigned in 1839 as a result of criticism of his conduct of the office.¹³ Although he was hostile to the institution of slavery, he believed that the proper agency to abolish it was the states.

In the intellectual history of the South Winifred and Joseph Gales are very significant as leaders of the Unitarian movement. After deism was extirpated from the South, a new element of liberalism was injected into the religious life of that section by the introduction of Unitarianism. The notable decline of this liberal sect in the South toward the end of the ante-bellum period is a valid index or barometer of the growing orthodoxy of the Old South. Of the four important figures in the southern penetration by the Unitarian church, Jared Sparks, Samuel Gilman, James Freeman Clark, and Joseph Gales, only the Raleigh editor was a layman. The other three were New England clergymen and Harvard men.¹⁴

The intellectual climate favorable to the growth of the Unitarian religion had been prepared by the enlightenment of the eighteenth century and by the influence of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson declared in a letter to Benjamin Waterhouse in 1822, "I trust that there is not a *young man* now living in the United States who will not die an Unitarian."¹⁵ During the decades of the 1820's and 1830's there seemed to be a good prospect of establishing this rational religion among the upper class of the South. In 1817 the first important Unitarian society in the South was organized at Baltimore, and two years later Jared Sparks, recently graduated from Harvard, was ordained as the first regular pastor. At his ordination William Ellery Channing delivered a sermon that remained a classic statement of the doctrines of the Unitarian church in

¹³ *African Repository and Colonial Journal* (Washington, 1825-1892), IX (1834), 374-75; XII (1836), 190; XV (1839), 82.

¹⁴ Sparks is best known, of course, as a president of Harvard College and as an early editor of the writings of George Washington. Gilman composed the famous nostalgic song "Fair Harvard." See William Stanley Hoole, "The Gilmans and *The Southern Rose*," in *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh, 1924-), XI (1934), 116-28.

¹⁵ Quoted in Clarence Gohdes, "Some Notes on the Unitarian Church in the Ante-Bellum South; A Contribution to the History of Southern Liberalism," in David K. Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, 1940), 327.

America. In order to propagandize the faith, Sparks founded in January, 1821, a monthly periodical, the *Unitarian Miscellany*, which lasted four years. The national House of Representatives paid a remarkable tribute to this Unitarian clergyman in December, 1821, by appointing him to serve as its chaplain.¹⁶ Winifred congratulated Sparks on receiving this high honor, which she hailed as being a great triumph of liberal sentiment and of toleration.¹⁷ Unitarian congregations were established during the decades of the 1820's and 1830's in at least ten of the principal cities of the South.¹⁸

The Gales brought their Unitarian religion with them from England, where they had formed a friendship with Joseph Priestley. Besides being a great chemist, Priestley was a religious reformer, whose book, *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, profoundly influenced Thomas Jefferson.¹⁹ In Philadelphia the Gales renewed their friendship with the "virtuous, the pious, and the unassuming advocate of Truth, Dr. Priestley," who had also been driven from England.²⁰ Joseph Gales was one of the organizers of the first Unitarian society in the Quaker City (1796), and he was the first lay reader of the group.

Joseph Gales was also indirectly responsible for planting the first seeds of Unitarianism in Charleston, South Carolina. The founder of the Unitarian church in this center of southern culture was Anthony Forster of Brunswick County, North Carolina, who married a daughter of Winifred and Joseph Gales. Seeking to convert his father-in-law from his Unitarian views, Forster borrowed the books that had influenced Gales, including Priestley's works. But, instead of being able to confute these unorthodox doctrines, he himself became a convert to Unitarianism.²¹ Boldly he began to preach in his Presbyterian church

¹⁶ Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 11, 1821.

¹⁷ Winifred Gales to Sparks, May 2, 1822, Gales Papers.

¹⁸ See A. A. Brooks, *The History of Unitarianism in the Southern Churches: Charleston, New Orleans, Louisville, Richmond* (Pamphlet published in Boston by the American Unitarian Association, n. d.).

¹⁹ Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, 17.

²⁰ Winifred Gales to Sparks, March 28, 1821, Gales Papers.

²¹ "Memoir of the Late Rev. Anthony Forster," in *Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor* (Baltimore, 1821-1824), I (1821), 249-62. The New York Public Library has a complete set of six volumes which the author has used.

these new doctrines of the Unitarians, but he did not publicly adopt the name "Unitarian." The Unitarian church at Charleston, located on Archdale Street, was not therefore an offshoot of New England Unitarianism, but an indigenous outgrowth.²² Forster died in 1820, and in announcing his death to Jared Sparks, Winifred spoke of the belief of the Gales in a life beyond the grave.²³ Joseph Gales published the liberal sermons of his departed son-in-law.

The Charleston congregation, after the resignation of Forster, invited Samuel Gilman, a young instructor at Harvard, to become their minister. In 1819 he was ordained by Jared Sparks, and his fine personality and ability made the Charleston society the most notable of the southern Unitarian churches. During his trip to the South, Sparks preached in the state capitol at Raleigh to a large audience including the governor and his family. As a result of this journey he declared that he was surprised "to find so much liberality of feeling among a people who have known nothing of the Unitarian principles." He also expressed his belief that "a Unitarian minister may preach in every state house in the Southern States."²⁴

In 1821 Gilman came to Raleigh and preached to a congregation. Joseph Gales was delighted with the sermon of the Charleston minister and he noted the repercussions of this foray into orthodox territory. He wrote to Sparks that shortly after Gilman's visit a convention of Episcopalians was held in Raleigh presided over by Bishop Richard C. Moore. "They could not overlook," he related, "the heretical doings which had just taken place here. Two sermons were directly leveled at us—one from the venerable Bishop himself. The Bishop went over the old beaten ground—1st of John's Gospel, 'The Father and I are one'."²⁵ Winifred wrote a month later that the Presbyterian minister had not ceased since Gilman's sermon in Raleigh to declaim against

²² E. C. L. Brown, "Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Church," in *Charleston Year Book* (Charleston, 1882), 416.

²³ Winifred Gales to Sparks, January 23, 1820, Gales Papers.

²⁴ Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1893), I, 157, 164.

²⁵ Joseph Gales to Sparks, May 4, 1821, Gales Papers.

the heresies of Unitarianism.²⁶ Nevertheless, there seems to have been an admirable spirit of tolerance toward religious non-conformists in Raleigh at this period. Winifred described to Jared Sparks a Presbyterian convention in the city which she and her husband attended. "You will argue favorably," she wrote, "of the tolerant spirit of our Orthodox ministers and their tender forbearance towards their few erring but well-known friends at this place, that not a word was breathed to wound personal feelings or sectarian zeal nor one doxology sung during the four days which in successive weeks each sect occupied."²⁷

During these early days Joseph Gales was aiding the Unitarian cause in a quiet and diplomatic manner. He was securing subscribers in North Carolina to the *Unitarian Miscellany* of Baltimore, and later to the *North American Review*, which Jared Sparks was editing. He published a prospectus of the *Unitarian Miscellany* in the *Register*. He also printed some Unitarian pamphlets for distribution, especially on the subject of the supremacy of the one God and the subordination of his son, Jesus Christ. "I believe, indeed," he affirmed, "we have put a stop to the preaching of our Clergy on the subject, for, as we could not give them Sermon for Sermon (having no preacher) we published a Pamphlet for every Sermon they preached."²⁸ Gales also proposed to Sparks, as editor of the *Unitarian Miscellany*, that the latter turn over some of the overflow of his material for him to publish as extracts in the *Raleigh Register*. He observed: "And some of these Extracts, in which Unitarianism may not be prominent, may find their way into newspapers and other periodical works, and thus be read and approved of by many without suspecting they contain the favorite sentiments of the Sect which is every where spoken against; and Prejudice may in this way be undermined which could not be met *directly*—because *liberal* Books will not be read."²⁹

The faith of Winifred Gales was a very enlightened and noble form of religion, resembling in many respects the religion of Thomas Jeffer-

²⁶ Winifred Gales to Sparks, June 11, 1821, *ibid.*

²⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, May 2, 1822, *ibid.*

²⁸ Joseph Gales to C. H. Appleton, of Baltimore, June 20, 1821, *ibid.*

²⁹ Joseph Gales to Sparks, August 2, 1822, *ibid.*

son.³⁰ Like the sage of Monticello, Winifred sincerely believed in tolerance in religious matters. She was unalterably opposed to shackling the consciences of men by a union of church and state, by making one sect, even the Unitarian faith, the established church.³¹ She read works on both sides of the main religious controversies of her day. She read, for example, the attacks made on "Dr. Priestley's just sentiment—that faith in a Trinity of three persons in one undivided Godhead could not certainly be more effectual in exciting devout sentiments than the doctrine of simple *unity* and that all the *practical duties* of religion were as secure on one hypothesis as the other." This pragmatic and rational attitude toward religion led her to ask: "Why do preachers of the meek doctrine of Christ not practise charity but throw the brands of discord? Why do they vilify that doctrine which bears the legitimate stamp of reason. That is not truth which will not bear discussion."³² She expressed a serene confidence that Unitarianism would gain ground in the United States as the result of the progress of education, but felt that its advance would be slow on account of "the morass of ignorance" among the people.³³

The letters that Winifred Gales wrote to Jared Sparks are not only significant for the light they throw on religious conditions in the South, but they reveal a far different type of woman from the one portrayed in the romantic stereotype of the "Southern lady." Winifred was a success as a mother, rearing children who made a valuable contribution to society. Her letters are full of maternal solicitude for a wayward son, Weston R. Gales, who later succeeded his father as editor of the *Raleigh Register*. She sent him to Yale College instead of to Harvard, because of his language deficiency, and she wished to remove him from his wild companions at Raleigh where he idled away his time playing billiards and cards.³⁴ Besides being a good mother, Winifred had time

³⁰ See George H. Knoles, "The Religious Ideas of Thomas Jefferson," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXX (1943), 187-204.

³¹ Winifred Gales to Sparks, July 18, 1820, Gales Papers.

³² *Id.* to *id.*, June 11, 1821, *ibid.*

³³ *Id.* to *id.*, October 16, 1821, *ibid.*

³⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, May 2, 1820, *ibid.* Joseph Gales later wrote to Sparks that his son had been dismissed from Yale College because of a fist fight. Letter dated June 26, 1821, Gales Papers.

for intellectual pursuits of a high order. In her letters she quotes Pascal and Goldsmith, and refers to the writings of Thomas Paine. She herself wrote a novel during her residence in North Carolina, entitled *Mathilda Berkeley, or Family Anecdotes*, which her husband published in 1804.³⁵ But the most admirable facet of her versatile personality was her *practice* of tolerance. In one of her letters to Sparks she refers to the friendship of herself and her husband for Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale who differed from them decidedly in religion and politics. "Yet," she observed, "a *good* man is not less estimable, whatever Sec-tarian creed he adopt. Truth and Virtue are immutable—and names are but finite distinctions."³⁶ In the letters there is not a trace of a crusading spirit for woman's rights, such as motivated her contemporaries, Sarah and Angelina Grimké of Charleston, South Carolina.

The tolerant attitude of North Carolina toward Unitarians began to change in the middle of the 1820's. The state was influenced by the same orthodox spirit that caused Jefferson to abandon the fight to appoint the radical Thomas Cooper as professor in the newly created University of Virginia and drove Horace Holley, the Unitarian president of Transylvania University in Kentucky, from his position.³⁷ In 1824 two New England Unitarian preachers, Jonathan Whitaker and his son, Daniel, came to Raleigh and were well received by the liberal element of the city. But the Presbyterian minister and a prominent Presbyterian deacon, Judge Henry Potter, tried to hamper their proselyting efforts by circulating letters damaging to their character. The Unitarians in Raleigh wrote to New England to ascertain the truth about the Whitakers, and received satisfactory replies which were publicly read. Joseph Gales believed that these men were being persecuted. To Sparks he wrote, "We have on the whole been well pleased with the preaching of these gentlemen—especially the young man. He had indeed raised up Unitarians at Fayetteville & Cheraw [South Carolina], where, perhaps, an Unitarian Discourse was never before heard, and it

³⁵ For an unfavorable criticism of this novel, see Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1941), II, 689.

³⁶ Winifred Gales to Sparks, July 18, 1820, Gales Papers.

³⁷ Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, 284-88.

is probable, if their character be clear from charge, both Father & son will be employed in this country."³⁸ After a career as a Unitarian minister in the lower South, Daniel Whitaker became a planter in South Carolina, and later editor of the *Southern Quarterly Review* of New Orleans.³⁹

By 1831 the Gales were lamenting the growing orthodoxy of the South. They had as friends at the University of North Carolina, Professor Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, an authority on spiders, and his talented wife, Caroline, who was actually making money writing plays and novels.⁴⁰ This couple was free from narrow and bigoted views on religion. Winifred wrote to Jared Sparks that Mrs. Hentz and her husband were not happy at Chapel Hill. "In respect to the male population, I fear there are some that were Servetus to revisit the earth, these rigid disciples of Calvin would—in the only way now sanctioned, for thank God the days of fire, faggot, and exile have passed away—persecute him after the most approved manner of dealing with Heretics."⁴¹ Two years later, the Gales, now an elderly couple, left their home in Raleigh to live with their son, Joseph Gales, Jr., the editor of the *National Intelligencer*. One of the reasons assigned for this change of residence by Winifred was: "3rdly, though not least, the privilege and happiness we hope to enjoy of worshipping our heavenly Father in the manner which long-imbibed truths have impressed upon our minds."⁴² But the old reformer, accompanied by his wife, came back to Raleigh to die in the year 1841.

The type of liberalism that the Gales lived may properly be called Jeffersonian.⁴³ It did not generate an intolerance of points of view different from their own, such as the conservative attitude toward revealed religion. They tried to see all sides of a question and avoid

³⁸ Joseph Gales to Sparks, June 12, 1824, Gales Papers.

³⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 80-81.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 565-66; Edwin A. Alderman, *et al.* (eds.), *Library of Southern Literature*, 16 vols. (New Orleans, 1908-1913), VI, 2375-79.

⁴¹ Winifred Gales to Sparks, June 6, 1831, Gales Papers.

⁴² *Id.* to *id.*, August 1, 1833, *ibid.*

⁴³ See Clement Eaton, "The Jeffersonian Tradition of Liberalism in America," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902-), XLIII (1944), 1-10.

the partisan approach which is frequently indifferent to truth. But this respect for the opinions of others did not imply lack of strong convictions. For over a quarter of a century they made intelligent efforts to advance the Unitarian religion in the South. But they fought for a losing cause. Most of the promising Unitarian churches that existed in the South during the decades of the 1820's and 1830's either disappeared or were in a moribund condition on the eve of the Civil War.⁴⁴ The Unitarians had long struggled in vain to convince southern people that they were entitled to the name of Christians, but they were regarded by the multitude as infidels. The main support of the church continued to be sporadic colonies of New Englanders located in the South. The fact that the Unitarian ministers in the North became strong antislavery men discredited the church in the eyes of most Southerners. Furthermore, the Unitarian religion, suited to intellectual aristocrats, was not adapted to the emotional needs of the rural folk of the South. It was too cold and intellectual a religion, lacking in color and emotional appeal, to compete with the hymn-singing Methodists, and the various orthodox sects that emphasized an anthropomorphic conception of religion that the common man could understand.

While the experiences of Winifred and Joseph Gales present a good illustration of the spirit of tolerance in North Carolina during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, theirs should not be considered as an isolated case. During the same period, for example, the career of Judge William Gaston, a Catholic in an overwhelmingly Protestant state, demonstrated that lack of orthodoxy and the active championing of the rights of minorities did not prevent political preferment. Gaston's fight for the modification of the religious requirements for holding office in North Carolina; his efforts in behalf of political rights for manumitted slaves; and his advocacy of emancipation definitely marked him as a southern liberal; and yet he served in the state legislature or in Congress almost continuously from 1800 to 1832, and as one of the three judges

⁴⁴ In 1860 the South contained only three Unitarian societies and only twenty-four of the six hundred and sixty-four Universalist churches of the country. *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association* (Boston, 1860-1869), I (1860), 37-41; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Statistics* (Washington, 1866), 500-501.

on the state supreme court from 1833 to the end of his life.⁴⁵ It is probable, of course, that in the case of Gaston as well as of the Raleigh editor and his wife personality was a considerable factor in securing toleration for their views by the people of the state. All three were well-balanced individuals who recognized the rights of others to hold opinions which differed from theirs and who sought merely to preserve similar rights for themselves and for other minority groups. Gales, for example, was especially noted for his "temperateness of mind" and his "unvarying moderation"⁴⁶ at the very time when he was advocating in his newspaper such progressive reforms as a state penitentiary, an insane asylum, a school for the deaf, internal improvements, and the encouragement of southern manufactures.⁴⁷

Yet even the most enlightened men are not uniformly liberal, and young liberals frequently become conservative as they grow older. It is interesting to note that in national politics neither Gales nor Gaston was able to see beneath the tumult and violent partisanship of the Jacksonian movement to its significance as a genuinely democratic advance. Gales supported William H. Crawford for President in 1824, and John Quincy Adams in 1828, in preference to Andrew Jackson. Gaston lamented in 1832: "If our united Republic should last so long as to render its history worthy of preservation the period of Gen'l Jackson's rule will be commemorated as its dark age. The delusion, party spirit, and corruption which are banded together in support of the weak and violent idol of the day, can not I fear be resisted successfully."⁴⁸ Liberalism and realistic democracy, although they have much

⁴⁵ Two excellent studies of Gaston's career are: Joseph H. Schauinger, "William Gaston: Southern Statesman," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (1941), 99-132, and "William Gaston and the Supreme Court of North Carolina," *ibid.*, XXI (1944), 97-117. See, also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 180-81.

⁴⁶ "The National Intelligencer and Its Editors," in *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston, 1857-), VI (1860), 470-81.

⁴⁷ Willis G. Bridges, "Joseph Gales, Editor of Raleigh's First Newspaper," in *North Carolina Booklet* (Raleigh, 1901-1926), VII (1907), 128-29. The author of this article is in error in attributing to Gales the editorship of Raleigh's first newspaper. The *North Carolina Minerva* was established at Raleigh a few months prior to the founding of the *Register*.

⁴⁸ Gaston to Robert Donaldson, October 25, 1832, in *William Gaston Papers* (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library).

in common, are not synonymous terms, and the liberal feels that he must oppose a democracy when it is intolerant and disregards the rights of the minority.

But this liberality of thought as reflected by the Gales and Gaston in North Carolina in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was not an isolated phenomenon in the South. The region as a whole seems to have gone through a liberal cycle of its history during this same period. This phase of Kentucky history, for example, has been designated as "Liberal Kentucky" by a student of the cultural history of the South, who has analyzed the bases of this liberalism as a separation of church and state and of church and college, the exclusion of the clergy from politics, the emphasis on morality rather than theology, and on physiology rather than spirit in the interpretation of human nature.⁴⁹ It is a striking fact that James Garrard, the popular governor of Kentucky from 1796 to 1804, was an avowed Unitarian.⁵⁰ In Virginia, the establishment of the University of Virginia (1825) on the principles of the illimitable freedom of the human mind marks a high point in southern idealism. In South Carolina, the great free thinker, Dr. Thomas Cooper, was able to maintain his position as president of the state university from 1820 until 1835 despite the attacks of intolerant religious groups.⁵¹ But religious conservatism closely follows economic conservatism, and a great change toward religious orthodoxy was soon to take place in the South as that section began to regiment thought within its borders to protect powerful vested interests that were threatened by the liberal forces of the period.

⁴⁹ See Niels H. Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1825* (New York, 1939).

⁵⁰ *Unitarian Miscellany*, I (1821), 291; II (1822), 206-208.

⁵¹ Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839* (New Haven, 1926), 259-67; Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, 284-88.

Notes and Documents

A DESCRIPTION OF SEARGENT S. PRENTISS IN 1838

EDITED BY CHARLES S. SYDNOR

The following letter describes Seargent S. Prentiss shortly after a remarkable set of circumstances had made of him almost overnight a national figure. He was scarcely known outside the state of Mississippi in November, 1837, when he and Thomas J. Word, both of whom were Whigs, were elected to represent that state in the lower house of the Twenty-fifth Congress. The seats to which they were elected were already occupied by John F. H. Claiborne and Samuel J. Gholson, Democrats, who claimed them by virtue of a special election that had been held in July, 1837. Inasmuch as Whigs and Democrats were nearly equally divided in the House, a great deal depended on the settlement of this controversy. These circumstances focused close attention upon Prentiss when he arose, with the permission of the House, to state the case of himself and Word. He spoke for about nine hours over a period of three consecutive days, and with such brilliant oratory as to fill the gallery, to attract a number of senators from their chamber, and to win for himself the highest praise of such men as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams. From this point his reputation was established as one of the great orators of the nation.

After considerable debate, the House declared the two seats vacant and referred the dispute back to the state of Mississippi. There, a special election—the third in this series of elections—was ordered in the latter part of April, 1838. The following letter was written about Prentiss in the course of that campaign, and it is the most critical and discrim-

inating appraisal of him at this turning point in his career that has come to light. Little is known about Peter Mayo, the writer, beyond what appears in the letter. David Campbell, to whom it was addressed, was governor of Virginia from 1837 to 1840.¹

The original of this letter is among the David Campbell Papers in the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection at Duke University. The spelling and punctuation of the manuscript have been preserved, but it was not possible to distinguish between capital and small letters in some cases. The letter is addressed to "Governor Campbell, Richmond, Virginia," and is endorsed "Peter Mayo, 15 April 1838."

Columbus Miss: April 15. 1838

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure last winter to receive a copy of your communication to the Legislature, which you did me the kindness to forward; I regard it as an evidence, that altho' located in a distant state I am some times recollected. It will be agreeable to you to be inform'd that it was popular here, and tended to elevate the individual, as well as, the Executive Office from which it emanated, in the estimate of the citizens of Columbus. Altho' exiled from my native land, I retain my attachment for her customs, and institutions; and feel a deep interest in the standing and character of her public functionaries, the elevation and prosperity of the State.

I should earlier have made this return for your remembrance of me, but have delayed, till time afford' me an opportunity of looking behind the scene which surrounds me, and of obtaining some thing more than a superficial view of passing events. An incident has however recently occur'd which may excite your interest, and render my communication not unwelcome.

You are familiar with the history of the political and congressional struggle which occurred during the late winter between Messrs. [Seargent S.] Prentiss[s] and [Thomas J.] Word, and [J. F. H.] Claiborne & G [Samuel J. Gholson],

¹ An expanded and careful statement of the circumstances that have been briefly sketched in the above introduction can be found in Dallas C. Dickey, "The Disputed Mississippi Election of 1837-1838," in *Journal of Mississippi History* (Jackson, 1939-), I (1939), 217-34. I have also had the advantage of reading the manuscript of Professor Dickey's forthcoming biography of Prentiss. At the present time the main printed sources of information about Prentiss are Joseph D. Shields, *The Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss* (Philadelphia, 1884), and [George L. Prentiss (ed.)], *A Memoir of S. S. Prentiss; Edited by His Brother*, 2 vols. (New York, 1855).

for seats in the house of representatives in congress each contending for them as the representatives of Miss: —that the latter gentlemen were ejected, and as a consequence, it was supposed that the former would be permitted to occupy their seats — that the struggle terminated in discarding all, and the issuing of a writ of Election, to be held on the 23 & 4th days of this month. Upon their return to the State, some weeks since, those gentlemen, with the exception of Mr. G:, declared themselves willing to serve the people, and Gel Davis² has taken the place on the democratic ticket, of Mr. G: who has withdrawn — Owing to the peculiar state of things at this time, Miss: is entitled to but two representatives altho it is not doubted that on taking the next census in 1840 she will double her present number —Owing to this circumstance these gentlemen have to canvass all the State, and the election comes on upon the same day in every county. By mutual understanding, the candidates go in pairs, Word and Davis, and Prentis & Claiborne — Commencing at opposite extremes of the State they each visit all public places on their route, and side by side, carry on the contest before the people unsparingly as to principles and measures, but courteously to each other — Messrs Word and Davis address'd the citizens at this place two weeks since on their way South: They made, as they deserved from the order of their talents, but little impression — A smart or witty remark of Mr Word, obtained for him occassional applause, whilst the superior dignity and better sense of Gel Davis created neither interest or emotion — thus the multitude signified their decided preference for Whigism — They discuss'd Bankism, and all the other "isms" with their adjunctives, now constituting exciting topics — Mr Davis was late a resident of Alabama, and was there a prominent candidate for congress, perhaps in the Huntsville district.

Some days priviously, Mr Prentis sent out heralds of his approach, and appointments of times and places, at which he would address the people on his way north: Saturday last at this place, was the number [?] of his appointments, which are so regulated, that he delivers a speech almost every day. He deliver'd an address here last fall; his late efforts before congress, and his publish'd speech made on that occassion, conspired to rank him, in the affections and estimate of the people, unprecedented here, and unequal'd by any other man in the State, and perhaps in the nation. His reputation & name were the theme in every group; expectation and curiosity were vigilant to mark his first approach to the city: his arrival on friday evening was greeted, tho' not formally by multitudes of expectants. At the instance of one of his personal and political friends I visited this lyon of the South at his lodgings, and for the first time was introduced to Mr Prentis. I had heard of his decrepitude, of his want of comeliness, but I had associated with the reputation of his towering mind, his sparkling wit,

² General James Davis, who had moved from Alabama to Pontotoc, Mississippi, two years before this campaign.

his comprehensive attainments, some thing of personal proportion, of manliness of form; How egregious was my disappointment, to meet as Mr. P. a shrivel'd, low form, indicating in almost every limb, and proportion, mal construction of the body, approaching deformity. His stature is of the lowest order, his shoulders broad, his arms long & large, terminating in hands of more than ordinary size; his neather parts including the waist, small, withird and apparently too weak, steadily to bear the upper works; in one of his lower extremities their is positive, inconvenient and ungraceful decrepitude. With the exception of a dark & fiery eye the form and size of his head would excite no criticism, except that it tends to discredlt the theory of the Phrenologist: his forehead excepted, there are no conspicuous developments. His manners tho' easy are neither graceful nor refined: his conversation is unceremonious, and frank. In the city all was bustle; the street was swept, and a stand erected in its centre for the accommodation of the people, and the elevation of the orator — Before the hour appointed for the delivery of the speech, the citzens of town and country were seen crowding around the stand; horse, foot and carriages, were in requisition and in due time join'd the crowd; tho' last, not least conspicuous, was an array of females, numerous, fashionable and impatient for the appearance of Mr Prentis: all told, the crowd was variously estimated at from 500 to 1000 persons — The orator mounted the stand, with a smile upon his lip, nothing daunted, but self possess'd.

He commenced with a brief and ingenious connexion [?] of fact, and circumstances, which had conspired to render it necessary for the people to be convened at so unusual a time at the ballot box: charging upon congress a violation of constitutional law, of those rights most vital to the dignity of the people, to the welfare of our government, and the preserving of the Union: he charged the house with palpable inconsistency, with the surrender of principle for party purposes, ascribed it to executive influence, denounced Mr. Polk, and the chief actors in the scene as the Panders to executive will, and usurpation — He said he was not a candidate, that he regarded himself & Mr Word as elected in November last that the people ought to resist with suitable indignation this incroachment upon their rights [not by?]^s the bayonet, or the bullet, but by the ballot box — he regard'd the vote to be giv[en as?] the repeated expression of the popular will in his favor, as instructions that they should return and claim their seats. He answer'd in a masterly manner, the objection that he was not a native of the state, and repel'd with biting sarcasm many misrepresentations that had been made in the public printes [?] & elsewhere of his political sentiments, & particularly that of his being an abolitionist — for the latter purpose he read a series of resolutions offerd three years ago by himself in the Legislature, repudiating Abolition principles, the first of which insisted on Slavery as a

* The bracketed portions of this sentence indicate words supplied by the editor where the paper has been torn by the wafer.

natural State, that it is right and ought to be carefully & securely transmitted to posterity — ! ! ! He spoke of the shatter'd state of the currency, declared himself in favor of a U. S: Bank, to the putting down of which he imputed the derangement of the monetary system — He concluded a three hours speech with an address to the ladies, in a style conspicuous for its moral beauty, elocution and gallantry.

Mr. Prentiss is an orator of rare combinations, — his thoughts are rapid, his imagination, boundless in its execution, pure & classical in his figures; his language partakes of the rapidity, of his thought, the richness and refinement of his fancy — his voice is strong and agreeable, tho' not melodious — his action is vehement, often ungraceful, yet some times impressive; his sarcasms are biting & scornful, his wit is ready & sparkling — When animated his person swel'd into proportions of comeliness — He rarely attempted to discuss his subjects — I regard him as more eloquent than argumentive, fonder of representation than of real life — His eloquence was captivating and call'd forth repeated loud & long bursts of applause — Tho severe he was always generous & courteous to his political opponents, whilst to the assailants of his character he was unsparing in his sarcastic denunciation, bold & fearless in his recriminations. I differ with him in politics & could not aid in his elevation, but if he must take the place of another, I greet him as an ornament to his state, and as adding a star to the galaxy of American genius. He is about thirty years of age, a native of Massachusetts,⁴ and a lawyer by profession — As he will be supported by both parties, there seems but little doubt of his election — Knowing your desire to be acquainted with the characters of those who figure in public life, I have been thus particular —

I am in the main pleased with this State, my prospects are flattering, and have been treated with Courtisy and some distinction by the members of the bar.—

My wifes health is very delicate, tho' hope it will ultimately be improved by the change — I could say much in relation to the licentiousness of Democracy, which characterises the Institutions of this State — Much in regard to its public officers, Legislation and Banking — the pernicious effects upon the prosperity, and morals of the state, give you some of the under the Curtain items of the Governor, &c. but I have already tried your patience, & exhausted my paper — Should you feel interested I shall take pleasure in hearing from you & reviewing some of these subjects — Mrs Mayo unites in respect to Mrs C. & Miss Va. & yourself —

Your Obdt Sevt

P Mayo

⁴ Prentiss was born in that part of Massachusetts which later became the state of Maine.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY'S
"LILY WHITE" POLICY IN 1912

EDITED BY ARTHUR S. LINK

When Theodore Roosevelt organized the Progressive party in 1912 he determined to make an appeal to southern Democrats to break away from political tradition and to join with the new party in its fight for social and economic reform.¹ From the very outset, however, he realized that the party would make no headway in the South if it followed the habitual Republican policy of giving southern Negroes a prominent place in the party ranks. He hoped to avoid giving offense to both whites and Negroes by refraining from any public discussion of the question and by announcing that the problem of the composition of the state delegations to the national convention would have to be settled by the several state organizations.² But this effort to sidestep the issue was entirely unsuccessful because rival white and Negro Progressive groups were organized in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, each of which named a delegation to the national convention and claimed to be the legitimate representative of the party in its state. When these four Negro delegations actually appeared in Chicago to contest the seating of the white delegates from their states, there was nothing left for Roosevelt to do except take a definite stand on the question.³

¹ The material for this contribution was obtained during the course of research, under the auspices of a grant from the Julius Rosénwald Fund, for a study of the presidential campaign of 1912 in the South.

² See, especially, Theodore Roosevelt to Francis W. Dawson, October 20, 1911, and to John M. Parker, July 15, 1912, in Theodore Roosevelt Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); also, *Atlanta Journal*, July 28, 1912, and *Charlotte Daily Observer*, July 28, 1912.

³ There is a good discussion of the steps leading up to the adoption of the "lily white" policy by the Progressives in George E. Mowry, "The South and the Progressive Lily White Party in 1912," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), VI (1940), 237-47.

He had already been warned by John M. Parker of New Orleans, his chief southern supporter and adviser, as well as by other Southerners, that a strong, permanent Progressive party could be built in the South only if it were organized upon a "lily white" basis;⁴ and in a letter of July 24, 1912, Parker made this warning more emphatic by saying:

Two suggestions strike me very forcibly as being of vital importance to the South. The first is that this should be a white men's party, recognizing the superior ability of the white man and his superior civilization, attained through countless centuries of struggle and endeavor, peculiarly fitting him to lead and direct, as during all of this long period, the Negro has been perfectly content to remain the ignorant savage devoid of pride of ancestry or civic ambition. The South cannot and will not under any circumstances tolerate the Negro, and my firm belief is that a plan on these lines, diplomatically arranged would be productive of immense good.⁵

Roosevelt's response to this advice was given to the public indirectly in the form of a carefully prepared letter to Julian Harris of Atlanta, the son of Joel Chandler Harris of "Uncle Remus" fame; and because this letter and Harris' reply constitute the basic evidence of the extent to which the Progressive candidate adopted the southern viewpoint regarding the place of the Negro in politics in the South, they seem worthy of reproduction in full.⁶

Sagamore Hill, August 1st, 1912.

Mr. Julian Harris,
Uncle Remus Magazine,
Atlanta, Georgia.

My dear Mr. Harris:

In pursuance of our conversation I write you this letter. There is a peculiar fitness in writing it to the son of the man whose work made all Americans his debtors. Your father possessed genius; and moreover he possessed that gentleness of soul, that broad and tender sympathy with his fellows, for the lack of

⁴ Parker to Roosevelt, July 12, 1912, and Cecil A. Lyon to *id.*, July 13, 1912, Roosevelt Papers.

⁵ Parker to Roosevelt, July 24, 1912, *ibid.*

⁶ Both letters are in the Roosevelt Papers. The letter from Roosevelt was apparently given to the press at once, and it appeared in many of the southern newspapers on August

which genius cannot atone. His life and his work tended to bring his fellow-countrymen, North and South, into ever closer relations of good-will and understanding; and surely it should be needless to say that the author of "Uncle Remus" and of "Free Joe and the Rest of the World" felt a deep and most kindly interest in the welfare of the negro.

Many letters dealing with the subject of which you spoke to me have been sent to me within the last few days. These letters, from equally worthy citizens, take diametrically opposite positions. Those written by men living in the North usually ask me to insist that we get from the South colored delegates to the National Progressive Convention. Those written by citizens of the South ask that I declare that the new party shall be a white man's party. I am not able to agree to either proposal.

In this country we cannot permanently succeed except upon the basis of treating each man on his worth as a man. We can fulfil our high mission among the nations of the earth, we can do lasting good to ourselves and to all mankind, only if we so act that the humblest among us, so long as he behaves in straight and decent fashion, has guaranteed to him under the law his right to life, to liberty, to protection from injustice, his right to enjoy the fruits of his own honest labor, and his right to the pursuit of happiness in his own way, so long as he does not trespass on the rights of others. Our only safe motto is "All men up" and not "Some men down." For us to oppress any class of our fellow citizens is not only wrong to others but hurtful to ourselves; for in the long run such action is no more detrimental to the oppressed than to those who think that they temporarily benefit by the oppression. Surely no man can quarrel with these principles. Exactly as they should be applied among white men without regard to their difference of creed, or birthplace, or social station, without regard to whether they are rich men or poor men, men who work with their hands or men who work with their brains; so they should be applied among all men without regard to the color of their skins.

These are the principles to which I think our countrymen should adhere, the objects which I think they should have steadily in mind. There is need not merely of all our high purpose, but of all our wisdom and patience in striving to realize them. Above all, it is essential that we should not act in such a way as to make believe that we are achieving these objects, and yet by our actions

3, 1912. It was also circulated widely as part of a campaign pamphlet entitled, *The Negro Question, Attitude of the Progressive Party toward the Colored Race; Colonel Roosevelt's Reply to a Query at the Progressive National Convention; His Letter to Julian Harris, of Atlanta, and the Statement of all the Negro Delegates in the Convention* (New York, 1912). The reply from Harris does not seem to have been given publicity at the time, and so far as can be ascertained has not previously appeared in print. Harris was the editor of *Uncle Remus' Home Magazine* (Atlanta) at the time of this correspondence, and was one of the most widely known southern supporters of Roosevelt.

indefinitely postpone the time when it will become even measurably possible to achieve them. For this reason I cannot adopt either of the two diametrically opposite suggestions made to me in the letters of which I have spoken.

I believe that the Progressive Movement should be made from the beginning one in the interest of every honest, industrious, law-abiding colored man, just as it is in the interest of every honest, industrious law-abiding white man. I further believe that the surest way to render the movement impotent to help either the white man or the colored man in those regions of the South where the colored man is most numerous, would be to try to repeat the course that has been followed by the Republican Party in those districts for so many years, or to endeavor in the States in question to build up a Progressive Party by the same methods which in those States have resulted in making the Republican Party worse than impotent.

Henry Ward Beecher once said that the worst enemy of the colored man was the man who stirred up enmity between the white and colored men who have to live as neighbors. In the South the Democratic machine has sought to keep itself paramount by encouraging the hatred of the white man for the black; the Republican machine has sought to perpetuate itself by stirring up the black man against the white; and surely the time has come when we should understand the mischief in both courses, and should abandon both.

We have made the Progressive issue a moral, not a racial issue. I believe that wherever the racial issue is permitted to become dominant in our politics, it always works harm to both races, but immeasurably most harm to the weaker races. I believe that in this movement only damage will come if we either abandon our ideals on the one hand, or, on the other, fail resolutely to look facts in the face, however unpleasant these facts may be. Therefore I feel that we have to adapt our actions to the actual conditions and actual needs and feelings of each community; not abandoning our principles, but not in one community endeavoring to realize them in ways which will simply cause disaster in that community, although they may work well in another community. Our object must be the same everywhere, but the methods by which we strive to attain it must be adapted to the needs of the several states, or it will never be attained at all.

In many of the States of the Union where there is a considerable colored population we are able in very fact and at the present moment to bring the best colored men into the movement on the same terms as the white men. In Rhode Island and Maryland, in New York and Indiana, in Ohio and Illinois, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to speak only of States of which I have personal knowledge, this is now being done, and from some or all of these States colored delegates will be sent to the National Progressive Convention in Chicago. Let me point out that the Progressive Party is already, at its very birth, endeavoring in

these States, in its own home, to act with fuller recognition of the rights of the colored man than ever the Republican party did. Until I was President the white Republicans of the North, although they had loudly insisted that the colored man should have office, with even greater firmness insisted that he should have office only in the South, or at any rate, not in the North. When, for instance, I tried to appoint a colored man to office in Ohio I was wholly unable to get the necessary assent from the white Republican leaders of Ohio, and had to appoint the man in Washington; and in appointing a colored man to a high position in New York I was obliged to do it by main force and against the wish of the entire party organization. In the Republican National Conventions the colored members have been almost exclusively from the South, and the great majority of them have been men of such character that their political activities were merely a source of harm, and of very grave harm, to their own race. We, on the contrary, are hoping to see in the National Progressive Convention colored delegates from the very places where we expect to develop our greatest strength, and we hope to see these men of such character that their activities shall be of benefit not only to the people at large but especially to their own race. So much for the course we are able to follow in these States; and the citizens of these States can best help the negro race by doing justice to those negroes who are their own neighbors. In many Northern States there have been lynchings and race riots with sad and revolting accompaniments; in many of these States there has been failure to punish such outrageous conduct and what is even more important, failure to deal in advance wisely and firmly with the evil conditions, among both black men and the white, which had caused the outrages.

There are other States, including the majority of the Southern States, where the conditions are wholly different. Much is to be said for the men who forty-five years ago, with motives which were for the most part and among most of their number of a lofty and disinterested type, attempted a course of action in those States which in actual practice has lamentably failed to justify itself and I make no attempt at this time to strive to apportion the blame for the failure. It is unwise to revive bitterness by dwelling on the errors and shortcomings of the past. Let us profit by them but reproach no man because of them. We are now starting a new movement for the betterment of our people, a movement for social and industrial justice which shall be nation-wide, a movement which is to strive to accomplish actual results and not to accept high-sounding phrases as a substitute for deeds. Therefore we are not to be pardoned if at the outset, with the knowledge gained by forty-five years' experience of failure, we repeat the course that has led to such failure, and abandon the effort to make the movement for social and industrial justice really nation-wide.

For forty-five years the Republican Party has striven to build up in the Southern States in question a party based on the theory that the pyramid will unsupported stand permanently on its apex instead of on its base. For forty-five

years the Republican Party has endeavored in these States to build up a party in which the negro should be dominant, a party consisting almost exclusively of negroes. Those who took the lead in this experiment were actuated by high motives, and no one should now blame them because of what, with the knowledge they then had and under the then existing circumstances, they strove to do. But in actual practice the result has been lamentable from every standpoint. It has been productive of evil to the colored men themselves; it has been productive only of evil to the white men of the South; and it has worked the gravest injury to, and finally the disruption and destruction of, the great Republican party itself. In the States in question where the negro predominates in numbers, the Republican Party has in actual fact become practically non-existent in so far as votes at the polls are concerned. The number of votes cast in those States and districts for the Republican ticket on Election Day has become negligible. It has long been recognized that these states will never give a Republican electoral vote; that these States or districts will never send a Republican or a colored man to Congress. The number of colored men in them who hold any elective offices of the slightest importance is negligible. In these States and districts the Republican Party, in actual practice, and disregarding individual exceptions, exists only to serve the purposes of a small group of politicians, for the most part white, but including some colored men, who have not the slightest interest in elections, and whose political activities are confined to securing offices by sending to National Conventions delegations which are controlled by the promise of office or by means even more questionable. Once in four years they send to the National Conventions delegates who represent absolutely nothing in the way of voting strength, and in consideration of votes of the delegates thus delivered they endeavor to secure the local offices from any National Republican Administration.

The progress that has been made among the negroes of the South during these forty-five years has not been made as a result of political effort of the kind I have mentioned. It has been made as the result of effort along industrial and educational lines. Again allowing for the inevitable exception, it remains true, as one of the wisest leaders of the colored race has himself said, that the only white man who in the long run, can effectively help the colored man is that colored man's neighbor. There are innumerable white men in the South sincerely desirous of doing justice to the colored man, of helping him upward on his difficult path, of securing him just treatment before the law; white men who set their faces sternly against lynch law and mob violence, who attack all such abuses as peonage, who fight to keep the school funds equitably divided between white and colored schools, who endeavor to help the colored man to become a self-supporting and useful member of the community. The white men who live elsewhere can best help the colored man in the South by upholding the hands

of those white men of the South who are thus endeavoring to benefit and to act honestly by the colored men with whom they dwell in community neighborhood and with whose children their children will continue to dwell in community neighborhood. Actual experience for nearly half a century has shown that it is futile to endeavor to substitute for such action by the white man to his colored neighbor, action by outside white men, action which painful experience has shown to be impotent to help the colored man, but which does irritate the white man whom nevertheless it cannot control. We are not facing theories, we are facing actual facts, and it is well for us to remember Emerson's statement that in the long run the most unpleasant truth is a safer travelling companion than the pleasantest falsehood.

The action of the Republican machine in the South, then, in endeavoring to keep alive a party based only on negro votes, where, with few exceptions, the white leaders are in it only to gain reward for themselves by trafficking in negro votes, has been bad for the white men of the South, whom it has kept solidified in an unhealthy and unnatural political bond, to their great detriment and to the detriment of the whole Union; and it has been bad for the colored men of the South. The effect on the Republican Party has long been disastrous, and has finally proved fatal. There has in the past been much venality in Republican National Conventions in which there was an active contest for the nomination for President, and this venality has been almost exclusively among the rotten-borough delegates, and for the most part among the negro delegates from these Southern States in which there was no real Republican Party. Finally, in the Convention at Chicago last June, the break-up of the Republican Party was forced by those rotten-borough delegates from the South. In the Primary States of the North the colored men in most places voted substantially as their white neighbors voted. But in the Southern States, where there was no real Republican Party, and where colored men, or whites, selected purely by colored men, were sent to the Convention, representing nothing but their own greed for money or office the majority was overwhelmingly anti-progressive. Seven-eighths of the colored men from these rotten-borough districts upheld by their votes the fraudulent actions of the men who in that Convention defied and betrayed the will of the mass of the plain people of the party. In spite of the hand-picked delegates chosen by the bosses in certain Northern States, in spite of the scores of the delegates deliberately stolen from the rank and file of the party by the corrupt political machine which dominated the National Committee and the Convention itself, there would yet have been no hope of reversing in the National Convention the action demanded by the overwhelming majority of the Republicans who had a chance to speak for themselves in their primaries, had it not been for the two hundred and fifty votes or thereabouts sent from the states in which there is no Republican Party. For forty-five years everything has been sacrificed to the effort to build up in these states a Republican Party which should be predominately and overwhelm-

ingly negro, and now those for whom the effort has been made turned and betrayed that party itself. It would be not merely foolish but criminal to disregard the teachings of such a lesson. The disruption and destruction of the Republican Party, and the fact that it has been rendered absolutely impotent as an instrument for anything but mischief in the country at large has been brought about in large part by the effort to pretend that in the Southern States a sham is a fact, by the insistence upon treating the ghost party in the Southern States as a real party, by refusing to face the truth, which is that under existing conditions there is not and cannot be in the Southern States a party based primarily upon the negro vote and under negro leadership or the leadership of white men who derive their power solely from negroes. With these forty-five years of failure of this policy in the South before our eyes, and with catastrophe thereby caused to a great National Party not yet six weeks distant from us, it would be criminal for the Progressives to repeat the course of action responsible for such disaster, such failure, such catastrophe. The loss of instant representation by Southern colored delegates is due to the fact that the sentiment of the Southern negro collectively has been prostituted by dishonest professional politicians both white and black, and the machinery does not exist (and can never be created as long as present political conditions are continued) which can secure what a future of real justice will undoubtedly develop, namely, the right of political expression by the negro who shows that he possesses the intelligence, integrity and self-respect which justify such right of political expression in his white neighbor.

We face certain actual facts, sad and unpleasant facts, but facts which must be faced if we are to dwell in the world of realities and not of shams, and if we are to try to make things better by deeds and not merely to delude ourselves by empty words. It would be much worse than useless to try to build up the Progressive Party in these Southern States where there is no real Republican Party, by appealing to the negroes or to the men who in the past have derived their sole standing from leading and manipulating the negroes. As a matter of fact and not of theory all that could possibly result from such action would be to create another impotent little corrupt faction of would-be office holders, of delegates whose expense to conventions had to be paid, and whose votes sometimes had to be bought. No real good could come from such action to any man, black or white; the negro would be hurt in the South, the Progressive Party would be damaged irreparably at the beginning. I earnestly believe that by appealing to the best white men in the South, the men of justice and of vision as well as of strength and leadership, and by frankly putting the movement in their hands from the outset we shall create a situation by which the colored men of the South will ultimately get justice as it is not possible for them to get justice if we are to continue and perpetuate the present conditions. The men to whom we appeal are the men who have stood for securing the colored man in his rights before the law, and they can do for him what neither the Northern

white man nor the colored men themselves can do. Our only wise course from the stand-point of the colored man himself is to follow the course that we are following toward him in the North and to follow the course we are following toward him in the South.

Very truly yours,

Theodore Roosevelt

Atlanta, August 3, 1912

My dear Col. Roosevelt:—

In your letter of August 1st, in which you confront squarely and honestly political conditions which involve the influence and participation of the colored man, you have written what will eventually prove an epoch-making utterance. You have uncovered and faced a situation of which the majority of the thinking men North, East and West have long been cognizant, but which the too-long dominant party neither dared nor desired to disturb.

The best men of the South have no disposition to outlaw the colored man, but the fact that the colored man himself has let the will-o'-the-wisp of politics lead him away from his real white friends has militated against a better feeling and a better understanding on the part of both the whites and the blacks. The white man in the South is desirous of genuinely helping the Negro. The progress of the Negro industrially and agriculturally in the South has been under the supervision and with the cooperation of his white neighbor; that this progress has been amazing, only a glance at the proper government reports is necessary to prove. The patriotic, sensible white men of the South desire to see the Negro built up in character and stimulated to a sense of personal responsibility. But heretofore they could not enter into this work with hope of large success because of the inflaming influence of an irritating political situation. Removed from the disturbing elements of the kind of politics to which he has been hitherto exposed, the Negro's opportunities will be broadened and his growth toward the real kind of citizenship become a reality. For he has been placed now in the care of his neighbor and friend—the Southern white man. Under these conditions it will become for the first time possible that the negro who shows the quality which entitled him to respect, and confidence, will with the cordial good will of his white neighbors do his part in healthy political work for the common good.

For the South you have opened a path, that, if followed, will prove the way by which it may return permanently to the exalted position it had once as a birthright, and which by virtue of statesmanship it held until the results of the Civil War forced on it an unnatural and artificial party solidarity. For nearly fifty years the young men of the South have imbibed the doctrines of Democracy,

as opposed to Republicanism—not Democracy for the sake of its principles, but because it has been the only party to serve as a bulwark against Republicanism.

The National Progressive party offers the South an opportunity which it not only needs but has earned. Inevitably, the South must go forward—politically as well as industrially and agriculturally. Activity must exist in every phase of its growth, or some part or some member will become useless. And so it has happened that the South's statesmanship has atrophied, and her once vigorous power in party councils has dwindled until the real South has been ignored by the Republican party and used by the Democratic.

One dominant party, whether in a state or in a section or in an entire country, cannot offer the best results or develop the highest standards of political prowess or statesmanship. There are always issues but if the people of a section can hear but one side, there is absent that attrition of thought which leads to ripe conclusions, just decisions and wise government. That has been the situation in the South; and most divisions of opinion have arisen from the disagreements of factions disgruntled or greedy for office. There can be imagined no more shameful exhibition in party politics than the preliminaries to a recent Democratic gubernatorial primary in Georgia.

The South has reached the point, however, where an intelligent discussion of vital issues must take the place of the narrow pleas of factionalism. And the greatest stimulus the South has ever received in this direction is your decision to give us the opportunity to build a real opposition party to the politics-burdened Democracy. In this you will have whatever help my earnest cooperation can lend you, and I cannot but believe there are hundreds of thousands of others in the South who will gladly join in the acceptance of this joyous deliverance the National Progressive party promises to afford. You have in effect said to the South "Go ahead and form your new party organization on your own lines and as you see fit. You are the best judges of the best methods in your own section." That is all the South has ever asked. Our cry has been that the other sections handle their own problems, therefore let us handle ours in our own way.

Those in the South who have been too-long fettered by the traditions of an inherited Democratic partisanship may feel that they must yet cling to the fetich of unchanging political faith. And some may call this stagnation sentiment; but instead it is sentimentality and dry-rot. It is as much because of my deep-rooted sentiment for the South as well as my abiding faith in its wonderful possibilities that I wish to see it shed the shell of political isolation and emerge strong enough and brave enough and wise enough to furnish the nation new Jeffersons, Stephens, Hills, Toombs and Colquitts.

Sentiment no less than Memory is a gift of the gods, but there must be a line between the visionary and the real. The South has every reason to be tender toward her traditions, solemnly veiled as they are in sorrow; but if we

would be true to these traditions we must press again to the front in art, literature, commerce and government. Today the genuine basis of honest political alignment is neither sentiment nor prejudice, but economics and a viewpoint of justice. This is as true as the threadbare aphorism that tariff is a local issue.

If the South still retains its inherent love for liberty of action and for freedom of thought—and I know that she does—you will not only be filled with pride over the number of votes the National Progressive party will receive next November, but you will be happily astonished. You are laying soundly the foundation of a movement which will force all the reactionaries into coalition and draw definitely the line between the ones who are now seeking to perpetuate right and justice in government and those who jauntily parade with righteousness and surreptitiously consort with corruption.

Most sincerely yours:

Julian Harris

Book Reviews

John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775.
By John Richard Alden. *University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science*, Volume XV. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1944. Pp. xiv, 384. Maps, appendices, bibliography. \$4.00.)

This is a study of the southern frontier during the momentous score of years from the beginning of the French and Indian War to the onset of the American Revolution. Inextricably interwoven is the story of John Stuart, second superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern district from 1762 until his death in 1779. Unfortunately, however, the plan of the book was such that the Revolutionary phase of Stuart's story was left untold; it is to be hoped that Professor Alden will next turn his hand to this interesting and historically important task.

In the South during the French and Indian War the British and French scarcely came to blows; rather each faction sought to advance its prestige among the four great native peoples: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. Inept diplomacy and other factors forced the British to fight the costly Cherokee War (1760-1761). When in 1763 the French flag was replaced by those of Britain in the South and Spain in Louisiana, it was the delicate task of Superintendent Stuart to reconcile the southern red man to the reality of British overlordship. This was accomplished, to a degree at least, by a series of "congresses" held at Augusta, Mobile, and Pensacola. For the remainder of the period Stuart strove to effect other objectives of the home government. Chief of these was maintenance of peace between colonists and natives; contributory objectives were regulation of the Indian trade so as to assure the trader a profit and the buyer a fair deal and demarcation of an Anglo-Indian boundary line so as to assure the frontiersmen elbow-room and the native hunting grounds protection from white encroachments. Success in the attainment of these objectives, given the circumstances, could not be absolute. In the author's opinion, however, the superintendent was relatively successful. Certainly no Anglo-Indian war occurred despite the almost innumerable incidents out of which one might have arisen.

The chief value of the book is that it includes for the first time within two covers a dependable discussion of all the major problems of the southern frontier during the period under investigation. This is not to say that the discussion is always comprehensive; the Indian trade, for example, fails to receive that thoroughgoing analysis which it did for an earlier period in Verner W. Crane's

The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732. On the other hand, the author has contributed notably to our understanding of certain topics, among them Stuart's pre-colonial career, the origin and functioning of the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, and the location of the line run in 1771 as the boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee.

This book has been built upon a basis of substantial search among manuscript sources. Pertinent English and French manuscripts were well utilized; the reviewer is aware of only a few rather insignificant items that appear to have escaped Professor Alden's search. Spanish archival sources might have proved as helpful as were the French, although it is to be doubted that they would have altered any of the conclusions reached. Surprisingly, a number of relevant secondary accounts are uncited either in footnotes or bibliography. Barely a half-dozen typographical errors were noted and even fewer errors of fact. Two of the latter may be mentioned. The map of the Cherokee country on page 102 inaccurately locates Chiswell's Mine as far south as Long Island. It is stated on page 182, note 17, that following capture by the Cherokee of Fort Loudoun its "fortifications rotted away," whereas excavations in 1936-1937, sponsored by the Works Progress Administration, show conclusively that the stockade was burned. There is little of interpretation; for the most part facts have been permitted to speak for themselves. Probably through no fault of the author John Stuart does not come alive in the pages of this work; other than official records there is little available material about him. The book is heavy reading; so much has been compressed into so little it could scarcely have been otherwise. All in all the author may well take pride in his accomplishment.

National Archives

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy. By Madeleine Hooke Rice. *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, No. 508. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. 177. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

Before this monograph was published much less was known about Catholic opinion toward the American slavery controversy than was known about the opinions of the major Protestant bodies. Now that it is published it becomes evident that American Catholics played an insignificant role in the controversy; hence, this study is mostly concerned with the reasons for the apparent lack of interest of the Church and its membership in one of the foremost issues of the day. To judge by the large amount of space that Dr. Rice gives to the subject, she regards the hand of tradition as the major force that restrained Catholics from entering the fight to the extent that Protestants entered it. The Catholic Church had faced the problem of slavery for centuries before the abolition crusade appeared, and it had consistently adhered to the opinion that slavery was not an evil *per se*; hence, it was not prepared to accept the abolitionists' view of the

essential wickedness of human bondage. Neither, however, could Catholics consistently regard slavery as altogether good, because the Church had recognized the presence of frequent abuses under slavery by its various attempts throughout the centuries to abolish them.

Besides the hand of tradition, circumstances of the moment restrained Catholics from entering the thick of the fray. Some of the orders owned slaves and used them for plantation work. Of more importance, the Church regarded itself as a weak and persecuted body in the United States, and the hierarchy was anxious to avoid any unnecessary move that would fan the strong anti-Catholic feeling of the day. Hence, the national councils of the Church maintained a policy of strict silence on the subject of slavery. Differences of individual opinion were permitted and openly expressed, and sectional divergence widened during the Civil War; but throughout the years of the slavery controversy the organization and discipline of the Church helped to maintain more unity of opinion among northern and southern Catholics than existed among northern and southern Methodists, Baptists, or Presbyterians. Catholics sought to capitalize on this fact by pointing out that the Protestant theory of private judgment led to "one morality for the North, another for the South, and consciences are governed on vital questions according to geographical divisions."

The chief weakness of this study is due to the failure of the author—and of this failure she is fully aware and entirely candid—to learn much about the opinion of individual Catholics. The attitudes of a few men, among them Charles Carroll, Judge William Gaston, and Bishop John England, are discussed; but generally speaking the reader is left in ignorance as to whether the rank and file of clergy and laity was as aloof in its thinking and actions as the official position of the Church would indicate. Except for this defect the work is to be commended. It is an adequate treatment of an unexplored phase of American history. Its documentation is careful, and slips are rare. The author was able to retain an objective, judicious attitude while dealing with a subject that was charged with a good deal of emotion and prejudice.

Duke University

CHARLES S. SYDNOR

The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider. By Charles Tinsley Thrift, Jr. (Lakeland: Florida Southern College Press, 1944. Pp. 168. Illustrations, bibliography. \$2.00.)

This small book is devoted to the history of Methodism in Florida east of the Apalachicola River from the earliest missionary efforts to the present time. The author turned aside from the writing of a "larger study on Florida Protestantism" to write this book as a portion of the centennial celebration of the Florida Conference of the Methodist Church in 1944.

Methodism was present in Florida when the Americans took possession of the territory in 1821, and four years later a district was established. Preachers were

supplied at first by the Mississippi Conference and subsequently by the conferences of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. When the Florida Conference was formed in 1844, it was given all the territory between Albany, Georgia, and Key West, Florida, and from the Apalachicola River to Brunswick, Georgia. To serve this huge territory, some six hundred miles long and two hundred and fifty miles wide, thirty-two preachers, most of them quite young, were assigned to the task. The Methodist itinerant system again proved superior to any other mode of following a moving frontier population. By 1860 preachers, circuits, and members had doubled. With the approach of the Civil War, the conference gave hearty support to the secession of Florida from the Union, but suffered losses both spiritual and material during the war years and the reconstruction period that followed. Instead of one branch of the Methodist Church, the membership was divided among six—three of which were Negro.

The story of Methodism in Florida is far less colorful than that of several other southern states. The author has overemphasized minor details in order to establish a strong case for his subject. For example, eighteen pages were devoted to Methodist participation in educational projects; in the Florida Conference all were feeble and short-lived except the present Florida Southern College, which published this book.

As a centennial history, *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* will undoubtedly serve a worth-while purpose, but a scholarly and comprehensive account of Florida Methodism is yet to be written.

Agnes Scott College

WALTER B. POSEY

New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861. By Loomis Morton Ganaway. *Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History*, Volume XII. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1944. Pp. x, 140. Illustrations, bibliography. \$2.00.)

Surrounded by nomadic, hostile Indians, the people of New Mexico, who lived mainly in the valley of the Rio Grande, had known much turbulence for two centuries preceding the conquest of the territory by the United States army in 1846. An economic aristocracy of some five hundred families dominated a Mexican population that did not greatly exceed fifty thousand. The docile Pueblo Indians, whose numbers had been reduced by disease and wars, were no longer of any consequence. Thirty or forty thousand wild Indians of the plains and mountains made life unsafe in every border community.

Including as it did all of the present Arizona and a part of Colorado as now constituted, together with the New Mexico of our own day, the territory extended over a vast domain during the middle-nineteenth century; but the people of the East did not hold it in high esteem. Thaddeus Stevens described it as "two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of volcanic desert" (p. 80), and Horace Greeley declared that it had no press "of any account; no Public Opinion;

of course, no Republican party" (p. 82). Then he added as a sort of capsheaf of things diabolical: "Slavery rules all."

From the vantage point of eighty-three years later, Greeley's last statement seems ridiculous. It illustrates, furthermore, the lamentable ignorance of Easterners about conditions as they actually were in the West. There were only twenty or thirty slaves in the territory of New Mexico in 1860. Like most other issues that concerned the territory, that of slavery was superimposed on the people. They had never had any interest in it. Although peonage was widespread among them, it was in no way affected by all the legislation and the talk on the subject of slavery. Yet, on the stump and in the press, slavery was discussed more than any other subject during the tumultuous 1850's. Office-seekers, many of them newcomers and not unlike the carpetbaggers that scourged the South a decade later, provoked dissension and at times even aroused the native population against the recognized authority.

It is the story of these local problems and their relation to the national issues of the period that Dr. Ganaway presents in this study. He begins with a survey of conditions as they were at the time of the conquest by the United States in 1846. His second chapter is devoted to the next four years when, because of the boundary controversy with Texas and the efforts of certain factions to secure territorial status or statehood, New Mexico looms large in the history of the nation. The remainder of the study is devoted to internal politics, the attitude of the territory toward the Union and the Confederacy, and the secession movement in southern New Mexico in 1860.

The book is well organized and well written. The author's chief contribution to the history of the Southwest consists of his correlation of the contests of the different factions in New Mexico with such national issues as the boundary controversy, the question of territorial organization or statehood for New Mexico, and secession. The evidence presented establishes beyond question the concluding generalization of the study that "Local institutions, an apathetic populace indifferent to controversies alien to them, and nature itself were aligned with each other in determining the political history of New Mexico from 1846 to 1861."

Hardin-Simmons University

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook. Compiled and edited by Christopher Crittenden (Editor) and Doris Godard (Editorial Associate). (Washington: The American Association for State and Local History, 1944. Pp. xi, 261. \$1.75 to members; \$2.50 to non-members.)

This volume is intended to serve as the successor to the publication of the same name, issued in 1936 by the Conference of Historical Societies and recognized as an indispensable reference work. The general plan of organization

is the same as for the earlier publication, and its most important contribution lies in the fact that the information concerning historical societies is brought up to date. The need for such a revision is clearly shown by the fact that the number of societies listed in the 1936 edition was 583 (with 15 others in a supplementary list because of inability to obtain information concerning them), while this edition lists 904 (with 564 others in the supplementary list). While the editors suggest that this apparently remarkable increase "may be due to a more complete coverage in the present edition," a cursory examination of the dates of organization reveals a healthy growth in numbers since 1936.

For the benefit of those who may not have seen the earlier edition, it should be explained that the entry for each society is based on information furnished by the society itself, and wherever possible gives the name of the society; its postoffice address; date of organization; its principal officers at the beginning of 1944; number of members; amount of membership fee; annual income; its publications; and in some instances information concerning its library or archival holdings. The supplementary list contains the names of 564 societies which neglected to respond to requests for such information, and it would probably be safe to assume that for most of them this failure is a fairly good indication of lack of activity in other ways. Of the 904 societies for which information was obtained, 833 are in the United States, and 71 in Canada. At the beginning of the list for each country is a category designated as "National and General Societies" (37 in the United States and 6 in Canada), and then follows the state and local organizations, arranged alphabetically by states or provinces. An index of 43 pages serves as a detailed guide to every type of information contained in the text.

As one runs through this impressive record of organized historical activity, he feels the need for an explanation of what constitutes a historical society. The editors say that "Libraries and museums have not been included as such. . . . Neither have most genealogical and 'patriotic' organizations been listed" (p. ix). Failing, however, to set up for themselves a working definition, they resort to the theory that it is "better to include too much than too little, with the result that a number of borderline organizations are listed." And some of their listings or omissions produce curious inconsistencies. Why, for example, include the Native Sons of the Golden West or the Daughters of Utah Pioneers and not include the Daughters of the Republic of Texas? If the William L. Clements Library should be included, why not also the Huntington Library? What is there about the Louisiana State University Department of Archives or the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan that makes them historical societies and rules out similar set-ups in numerous other universities in the United States? Is a state historical commission or department of archives and history, with no public membership, but consisting of a small board appointed by the governor and operating solely on state funds, really a historical

society? Of course it is much easier to raise such questions than to answer them; but it seems clear that unless we try to find an answer we shall continue to wonder whether any particular list contains too much or too little.

By no means the least interesting feature of this new edition is the suggestive Foreword by Dr. Crittenden. In addition to explaining the method of procedure in compiling this information, he presents a tabulation of the distribution of the societies by states and provinces for both 1936 and 1944 together with a brief analysis of the meaning of the figures. Pointing out first that the number of societies in the United States sufficiently active to make reports increased by 53 per cent during the eight-year period, he shows that 62 per cent of these societies are now to be found in the area north of the Mason and Dixon line and the Ohio River, and including Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota west of the Mississippi River. The fact that these same seventeen states had 72 per cent of the societies in 1936 shows that "during the past eight years growth has been more rapid outside this area of concentration, which would seem to be a healthy sign" (p. vii). He might have added that the thirteen southern states—from Virginia to Texas—with approximately 28 per cent of the population of the United States had 10 per cent of the historical societies in 1936 and 11 per cent in 1944. This means that the "more rapid" growth has really been in the Far West.

But it might be pointed out that the number of societies in a particular state or region is not necessarily a dependable indication of the historical interest of the people of that region. A more satisfactory index would perhaps be the ratio of historical society memberships to the total population, but in view of the incompleteness of the information on memberships the editor was no doubt wise in refraining from making such an analysis. Curiosity impelled this reviewer to do so, however, on the basis of such information as has been given for 1944, and because the results should be of concern to everyone interested in the promotion of historical activity in the South it might be appropriate to present them here. With a total of approximately 148,000 memberships in state and local societies reported for the country as a whole, the ratio would be one membership for each 890 inhabitants. The five states with the highest ratio are: Vermont, with one member for each 231; Rhode Island, one for each 253; Massachusetts, one for each 299; Nebraska, one for each 371; and Pennsylvania, one for each 426. The five with the lowest ratio are: Alabama, with one member for each 21,792 inhabitants; Arkansas, one for each 9,747; Georgia, one for each 4,261; West Virginia, one for each 3,658; and Mississippi, one for each 3,472. If the United States is divided somewhat arbitrarily into four broad regions, the results are as follows: the Northeast, including New England and the Middle Atlantic states (11 states), has one historical society membership for each 571 inhabitants; the Middle West, embracing the northern part of the area between the Appalachians and the Rockies (13 states), has one for each 753;

the Far West, consisting of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states (11 states), has one for each 1,411; and the South, extending from Virginia to Texas (13 states), has one for each 2,444. One wonders if the people of the South really have as little interest in the study of its history as these figures would seem to indicate.

No amount of philosophical reflection or statistical calculation, however, can destroy the value of this publication as a reference work. It is an essential item for every live historical society or library; and it will be extremely helpful to individual historians. The profession owes a debt of gratitude to the sponsors and the editors for bringing the record up to date.

Vanderbilt University.

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

COMMUNICATIONS

September 28, 1944

THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY:

In connection with Professor R. C. Beatty's review of *A Collection of Hayne Letters* in the August issue of the *Journal of Southern History* (pp. 362-64), I wish to stress again that my collection was not supposed to be complete. In the first place, I did not include letters that had already been published *in toto*. In the second place, there are many Hayne letters yet unpublished. I made that clear in my preface and had done so earlier in "A Correspondence Journal of Paul Hamilton Hayne," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (1942), 249-72.

Hayne's letters to Bayard Taylor, both those already published and some as yet unpublished (including those in the Library of Cornell University), have been edited by Professor Charles Duffy and will be published by the Louisiana State University Press. It was my pleasure to read the manuscript and recommend its publication. A private collection of about forty letters is (or was in May, 1941), in the possession of Professor A. L. Hench of Charlottesville, Virginia. Hayne's letters to Sidney Lanier are in the Library of Johns Hopkins University and are being edited by Professor Charles R. Anderson. There are some Hayne letters in the William Porcher Miles papers in the Library of the University of North Carolina. The Middlebury College Library has twenty-one letters (one to Barry Gray, one to Dr. J. G. Holland, eighteen to Mrs. Julia Dorr, and one to an unnamed recipient). The Library of Emory University has about six letters to Joel Chandler Harris. I have recently obtained photostats of two letters to Lucy Dorothea Henry (a granddaughter of Patrick Henry) and hope to secure their publication shortly. The originals are in the Poe Shrine at Richmond. I have recently heard of another private collection of letters in Virginia but have not yet obtained definite information. Miss Ellen F. Hayne of

Charleston, South Carolina, has a number of letters written by Hayne's wife, Mary Middleton Michel Hayne. No doubt there are many other unpublished letters of Hayne.

Of course the largest collection of Hayne material is the Hayne Collection in the Library of Duke University. About 1929 this library purchased Hayne's books, papers, manuscripts, journals, etc., which had been preserved at his old home in Georgia, Copse Hill. My understanding is that the librarians and various professors at Duke have been and are trying to make this collection as complete as possible by obtaining accurate copies of all Hayne material preserved elsewhere. Professor Charles R. Anderson (then at Duke and now at Johns Hopkins) was, I believe, mainly responsible for securing and building up this collection. He is now writing a study of a group of Charleston men of letters, in which he will make use of this material. Under the direction of Dr. Jay B. Hubbell, Professor Victor H. Hardendorff is writing (or may have completed) a biography of Paul Hamilton Hayne as a doctoral dissertation. The scholars at Duke University have the best chance of bringing out a definitive biographical and critical study of Hayne, and no doubt one of them will do so. Let us hope so.

In conclusion, I feel impelled to comment on Professor Beatty's statement (in the review referred to above) that Hayne despised Charleston. It is true that he complained bitterly and often of what he considered Charleston's and the South's neglect of him and of other southern writers. It became an obsession with him. Moreover, he did not like the summer climate of Charleston. But in all other respects he deeply loved Charleston and was intensely loyal to the South. I could cite many of his letters and poems that prove this point. Other proof may be found in his various contributions to the *Southern Bivouac*, especially in his series of three essays on ante-bellum Charleston (reprinted in part by Edwin Mims in the *Library of Southern Literature*). The third of these essays concluded with these words:

I, her poet and her son, here in the sheltering arms of my beloved adopted mother Georgia, can not but thrill at the thought of the *true* mother that bore me!

She may sometime *seem* cold to her children; yet hers is only the coldness of Hecla which carries beneath its surface a heart of deathless flame.

Oh! Queen; oh! *madre imperiale*, when the sunset has faded, and the twilight gone, and the night descended, wilt thou not call the wearied exile home?

He would fain sleep within the sound of thy waters, under the shadow of thy immemorial oaks, near the sacred dust of his fathers!

Southern Bivouac, I (November, 1885), 336.

Charleston has never had a more loyal son than Paul Hamilton Hayne.

D. M. McKEITHAN

October 10, 1944

THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY:

If Mr. McKeithan had included the above information in the Foreword of his book, the second paragraph of my review would have been unnecessary. As for Hayne's love of Charleston, discussion of the question seems profitless in view of the contradictory statements on the subject in his own private and public writings.

RICHMOND C. BEATTY

Historical News and Notices

An extended report of the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, held in Nashville, November 3-4, will appear in the February, 1945, issue of the *Journal*. The index, title page, and table of contents of Volume X will also be mailed to all members and library subscribers along with that issue.

A joint session of the Southern Historical Association with the American Historical Association will be held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, on Thursday afternoon, December 28. Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, has arranged for the following program on "Relations between Civil and Military Authorities during the Civil War," with Howard K. Beale, University of North Carolina, as chairman: "Civil and Military Relationships under Lincoln," by James G. Randall, University of Illinois; "General Order No. 100 and Military Government," by Frank Freidel, University of Maryland; "Northern Governors and the Lincoln Government," by William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin.

PERSONAL

Wendell H. Stephenson has received a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of the development of historical activities in the South. He is on leave of absence from Louisiana State University for the year 1944-1945, and plans to devote most of that time to an examination of materials in both southern and northern depositories.

John H. T. McPherson, who has been professor of history and political science at the University of Georgia since 1891, and head of the department from 1891 to 1941, will retire from active duty on January 1, 1945.

Fred H. Harrington has resigned from his position as professor of history and head of the department at the University of Arkansas to accept an appointment as associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin. Dorsey D. Jones has been made acting head of the department at the University of Arkansas, and he succeeds Professor Harrington, also, as acting editor of the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*.

Nora C. Chaffin, formerly of Duke University, has been appointed assistant professor of history and dean of women at Vanderbilt University, succeeding Blanche Henry Clark, who resigned during the summer, following her marriage to Herbert Weaver, professor of history at Georgia Teachers College, now on

leave as a captain in the Historical Division of the Army Air Forces, stationed in Washington.

At the University of Kentucky, J. Huntley Dupre, professor of European history, has resigned to become executive secretary of the World Student Service Fund; Shelby T. McCloy, of Duke University, has been appointed visiting professor of history for the present academic year; and Rhea A. Taylor, of Lexington, and Bennett H. Wall, of the University of North Carolina, have been added to the staff as instructors in history.

James W. Moffitt, who has been secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society and editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* since 1936, has accepted an appointment as professor of history at Tennessee College for Women, Murfreesboro.

Hubert A. Coleman, formerly assistant professor of history and political science at The Citadel, is now connected with the Historical Division of the Army Air Forces in Washington.

George C. Osborn, who has been at the University of Mississippi during the past year, has been appointed professor of history at Memphis State College.

Mrs. Nelle Upshaw Gannon, a doctoral graduate of the University of California, has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Georgia.

Ellen Fenton Murray, formerly of the University of Georgia, is now instructor in history at Florida State College for Women.

Ralph H. Records and Stuart R. Tompkins have been promoted to the rank of professor of history at the University of Oklahoma. Professor Tompkins has been given a year's leave of absence to accept a Rockefeller Foundation grant for research on a history of Alaska.

In a reorganization of the work at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, the former department of history and social science has been divided into two departments, one designated as history and government and the other as sociology and economics. J. Walter W. Daniel becomes the head of the department of history and government, and Mrs. Florence Janson Sherriff, who has recently returned to this country after several years of teaching in China, has been added to the staff of this department.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the completion of a staff reorganization that was begun in November, 1943. Effective July 1, 1944, chief responsibility for both administrative and professional activities of the National Archives was assigned to the director of operations, Dan Lacy. Assisting him are Marcus W. Price, deputy director of operations, Stuart Portner, assistant director of operations in charge of records administration, Philip C. Brooks, records appraisal officer, and Philip M. Hamer, records control officer in charge

of reference service and records description. Other changes include the assignment of Dallas D. Irvine as management officer and Oliver W. Holmes as program adviser in the office of the Archivist. The administrative secretary, Thad Page, was also transferred to the office of the Archivist. A War Records Office, with Edward G. Campbell as director, and a General Reference Division, with W. Neil Franklin as chief, were created. The Division of Veterans' Administration Archives was redesignated as the Division of Veterans' Records and was made responsible for service records of the armed forces as well as records of the Veterans' Administration; Thomas M. Owen, Jr., was continued as chief of the Division.

New appointments to the staff include W. Brooks Phillips, formerly of the University of North Carolina Press, Carl J. Kulsrud, formerly of the Office of Strategic Services, and E. Sloane Wingert, formerly of the War Department. Dorothy Martin has returned to the National Archives, as has Thornton W. Mitchell, who has received an honorable discharge from the Army. Maude Jones, Archivist of Hawaii, has been designated to serve as a field consultant to keep the National Archives informed on problems relating to federal records in Hawaii and to undertake particular projects upon assignment.

William Brown Morrison, professor of history at Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, since 1922, died on March 20 at the age of sixty-six. A native of Virginia and a graduate of Washington and Lee University, he had edited a newspaper in West Virginia, had taught in the schools of Maryland, Texas, and Oklahoma, and from 1910 to 1920 had served as president of Oklahoma Presbyterian College. He served also as dean and acting president of Southeastern College in 1937-1938. His most important contributions to Oklahoma history include *An Oklahoman Abroad* (1928), *The Red Man's Trail* (1932), and *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (1936).

Douglas Crawford McMurtrie, an outstanding authority in the fields of typography, bibliography, and the history of printing, and an active and enthusiastic member of the Southern Historical Association, died on September 29 at his home in Evanston, Illinois. As director of typography for the Ludlow Typograph Company of Chicago since 1927 he exerted his influence in behalf of good printing, which to him meant the proper selection and arrangement of type to serve the purpose of most effectively conveying a message in printed words. In the history of printing, his best-known work is *The Book*, first published in 1927 as *The Golden Book* and revised in 1937 under its present title, now in its seventh edition. He had planned a comprehensive *History of Printing in the United States* to be published in four or five volumes, but of these only Volume II was completed, covering the middle and southern Atlantic states. During the course of his research he published something over four hundred brief articles or pamphlets on the beginning of printing in the various states, including every southern state; and in the case of Louisiana and South Carolina, among others,

he revised the previously accepted record for their first printing. As the editorial director of the American Imprints Inventory, under the Works Projects Administration, he was responsible for collecting records from libraries throughout the country of titles printed and published in the United States between 1800 and 1876. This had resulted in the publication of thirty-four volumes of state imprints inventories before the discontinuance of the program in 1941; and in 1943, when the work was resumed under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. McMurtrie was made editor-in-chief. His death means an irreparable loss not only to this renewed program, but also to innumerable friends and associates throughout the country.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has recently acquired a collection (about 13,000 pieces) of papers of the Short, Symmes, and Harrison families, covering the period from about 1750 to 1907, which contains much material of importance to the student of southern history. John Cleves Symmes, in whose business affairs is to be found the origin of an important segment of this collection, was the father of two daughters. The younger married William Henry Harrison. More than fifty of General Harrison's letters, with several written by his wife and by his sons, are found in the collection, as are many business papers of the Harrisons. The elder daughter of Judge Symmes married Peyton Short, of Surrey County, Virginia. A very large part of the collection is made up of the papers of Peyton Short and of his sons, John Cleves Short (who seems to have constituted himself the family archivist), and Charles William Short, physician and scientist. The correspondence of these men and their kinsmen, with their friends and business associates, supplemented by voluminous records in the form of accounts, ledgers, contracts, and other legal papers, forms a rich storehouse of material for the history of the crossing into the Mississippi Valley of the commonwealth builders and men of enterprise who followed the first pioneers across the Alleghenies.

The papers of Peyton Short's brother, William Short, already owned by the Library of Congress, are greatly amplified by those in the new collection, particularly with regard to Short's later life as a man of wealth in Philadelphia. One of the most interesting single items in the collection is a copy, in William Short's hand, of a catalogue of Thomas Jefferson's books.

Among other recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: one volume of accounts of Lewis Ginnedo (or Ginnodo), merchant of Newport, Rhode Island, mainly concerning shipping, 1755 to 1815; reproductions of Thomas Jefferson materials (Henry E. Huntington Library), 1757 to 1809; order from the Council-Chamber of Massachusetts to pay salary of John Winthrop, Professor at Harvard, 1777; agreement between Jean Joseph

Carrier de Montieu and Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane to furnish articles of merchandise to Americans, August 6, 1777; twenty-five papers of James McHenry, including his diary kept during the Constitutional Convention, 1778 to 1800; letter from William Bingham to Benjamin Rush, November 6, 1783; letter from Alexander Hamilton to Louis Andre de Pichon, August 6, 1802; memorandum of agreement between the executors of the estate of George Washington and Gabriel Lewis, March 30, 1804; one box of additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1808 to 1931; letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. Samuel H. Smith, March 6, 1809; letter from David Meade Randolph, James G. Forbes, and Josiah Trumbull concerning official celebration of Washington's birthday in London, February 29, 1810; seventy-two papers of Zachary Taylor (mainly letters from Taylor to Thomas S. Jesup), 1818 to 1840; two letters from James Tilghman to Henry I. Williams, January 23, 1828, and January 27, 1829; additional papers of John Fairfield, of Maine, 1828 to 1867 (343 pieces); one box of papers of Maria Louise Thomas and others, 1831 to 1898; letter from John Quincy Adams to Daniel Mayo, March 22, 1837, and poem by Adams entitled "Gloom of Autumn"; letter from John Greenleaf Whittier to Dr. H. I. Bowditch, January 26, 1846; "Order & Letter Book" of the United States Army Medical Department, 6th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1862 to 1865, one volume; letter from Charles Augustus Eldredge to John E. Thomas, February 7, 1864; manuscript copy of journal of Lothrop Lincoln Lewis, 1864 to 1865; diary of John Augustus Johnson, March 8 to July 17, 1865; additional papers of, or relating to, Benjamin Ticknor, *ca.* 1878 to 1936; two boxes of the papers of Charles Henry Webb, 1870 to 1900; fifteen letters from Grover Cleveland, 1880 to 1899; three letter-books (diplomatic correspondence) of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, October 1, 1882, to September 30, 1883; five boxes of papers of, or relating to, Susan B. Anthony, 1883 to 1934; four boxes of papers of the American Press Association, 1890 to 1898; two boxes of papers of the *North American Review* and Harper and Brothers, 1898 to 1913; one volume of papers relating to the work of Francis D. Gamewell, 1900 to 1905; eight additional papers of, or relating to, Woodrow Wilson, 1902 to 1903 (restricted); additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1905 to 1933 (restricted).

President Roosevelt has recently made a number of additions to his collection of United States naval history manuscripts in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, at Hyde Park. Notable among them is a journal of the U. S. S. *Brandywine*, Henry E. Ballard, Commander, for the periods March 10-July 14, 1830, and October 22, 1830-September 12, 1831. About thirty letters written between January 16, 1830, and August 2, 1831, by E. T. Washburn, schoolmaster of the *Brandywine's* contingent of midshipmen, to members of his family were received with the journal. They describe life aboard ship and ports visited in the West Indies, Mexican waters, and the Mediterranean.

To the already large body of David Conner manuscripts in the Library the President has added about a hundred letters written from 1808 through 1856 by and to Conner, who served as midshipman and lieutenant on board the U. S. S. *Hornet* during the War of 1812 and who commanded the Gulf Squadron during the Mexican War until the capture of Vera Cruz. This correspondence contains Conner's accounts of engagements in which the *Hornet* took part, his capture while commanding a prize taken in the English Channel, and the defeat of the British ship of war *Penguin* and his comments on the burning of Washington and the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*. Also included are letters from Commodore Charles Stewart to Conner while the latter was in command of the *Dolphin* in South American waters in 1822-1824; from Captain Lewis Warrington, 1834-1846; from Rear Admiral Frederick Engle, 1844-1845; and from various Secretaries of the Navy, 1818, 1845-1853.

About a hundred unrelated letters and other papers on naval affairs pertaining to the period from 1784 to 1909 have also been received, including letters concerning pensions, appointments, discharges, disciplinary matters, ship launchings, cruises, the administration of shore stations, and a variety of routine orders, requisitions, and receipts. Many prominent figures of the early navy are represented, including Silas Talbot, David Porter, James Biddle, Robert F. Stockton, and several Secretaries of the Navy, from Benjamin Stoddert to James C. Dobbin.

Practically all the older records of the Department of the Treasury are now in the National Archives as a result of a large transfer of the Secretary's "Old Files," 1789-1910. Of particular historical interest among these records are the authenticated copies of correspondence with collectors of customs, 1789-1833, that were made from field office records after the 1833 fire in the Treasury Building, which destroyed most of the early records of the Department. Other recent transfers include the original manuscript maps of the United States Geographical Surveys west of the One Hundredth Meridian or the Wheeler Survey (1869-1879), one of the four major surveys of the West in the period following the Civil War; Navy Department records, including opinions of the Attorney General of the United States on questions submitted to him by the Secretary of the Navy, 1857-1903, and general correspondence of the Bureaus of Ordnance, 1926-1939, and of Naval Personnel, 1926-1940; records of the Food and Drug Administration, 1900-1943, containing unpublished studies made by such pioneers for pure food and drugs as Harvey W. Wiley; and headquarters and field records of the War Risk Litigation Bureau relating to about 24,000 closed cases. Among other field materials received are records of the collectors of customs at Baltimore, 1783-1919, including passenger lists, 1820-1919, and at Washington (Georgetown), D. C., 1807-1900; and records of War Department arsenals at Watervliet, New York, 1814-1919, Frankford, Pennsylvania, 1816-1935, San Antonio, Texas, 1871-1912, and Edgewood, Maryland, 1918-1920, and of the Sandy Hook Proving Grounds, 1901-1918.

Among collections recently accessioned by the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University, the following are of special interest for the history of the lower Mississippi Valley: papers supplementing the Pleasant Hill Plantation records of the Eli J. Capell family of Amite County, Mississippi; additional volumes of the F. D. Robertson account books for sugar plantations in Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana; papers and volumes of the J. G. Kilbourne family of Clinton, Louisiana, containing records of the Kilbourne plantation, 1855-1893, documents of the Clinton and Port Hudson Railroad, and letters and papers concerning Centenary College and Silliman Institute; papers of Joseph Embree, a cotton planter in Louisiana and Mississippi; account books in French of a Negro store in New Orleans; the complete records of the M. S. Newsom Brick and Lumber Company of Louisiana, 1866-1928; a group of Lieutaud papers, including slave documents and records of privateers in the Gulf of Mexico and at the mouth of the Mississippi River; and the diaries and reports of Robert M. Lusher, who was state superintendent of education for Louisiana, 1865-1868, and 1877-1880.

Recent accessions to the Library of the Florida Historical Society at St. Augustine include a typescript copy of the diary of Dr. John N. W. Davidson for the period from October 15, 1860, to January 6, 1861; the Cruzat collection of the Pantón, Leslie Company papers, 1775-1830, approximately 600 original letters and documents; and the Greenslade collection of approximately 400 original letters and documents, also concerning the Pantón, Leslie Company for the period 1764-1838. These documents include many letters from the Spanish governors in Pensacola, New Orleans, and St. Augustine, but the greater part relate to the business of the firm as shown in letters from traders and Indian chiefs. The collections have been arranged by Miss Elizabeth H. West, librarian emeritus of the Texas Technological College, in eight portfolios: 1775-1799, 1800-1803, 1804-1811, 1812-1813, 1814-1815, 1816-1819, 1820 to end, and papers relating to the Donelson land claim.

Recent gifts to the Maryland Historical Society include fifteen scrapbooks of clippings dealing with the vessels and activities of the Weems Steamship Company of Baltimore, 1895-1925; the manuscript volume of minutes of the Hope-well Assembly, Knights of Labor, Ellicott City and Baltimore, 1886-1902; papers of the Towson and Cockeysville Electric Railway Company, 1906-1923; a group of letters written to General John M. Hood as president of the Western Maryland Railroad; the subscription and advertisement books of the Baltimore *Patriot*, 1847-1861; manuscript notes by Robert Gilmore entitled, "Memorandums respecting my family and friends," covering the period from 1813 to 1825; and a large collection of Falconar papers, including letters from John Falconar, in Jamaica, Cuba, and New Orleans, to his brother Abraham, in Baltimore, 1815-1819, and letters to Mrs. Sarah Cantwell from Florida Territory, 1836-1841.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History has recently secured from the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress photostatic copies of the following acts of the Mississippi Territory: Third Session, First General Assembly, 1802; First Session, Second General Assembly, 1803; Second Session, Fourth General Assembly, 1808; First Session, Fifth General Assembly, 1809; First Session, Sixth General Assembly, 1809. The original acts were printed in Natchez by Andrew Marschalk and John Shaw.

Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson, acting librarian of the St. Augustine (Florida) Historical Society, has in preparation for the observance of the Centennial of Florida's admission to statehood five programs designed to trace the development of territorial Florida, 1821-1845. These programs will interpret the adjustment of the ancient city of St. Augustine to the new Anglo-American influences: social, civil, legislative, cultural, military, and transportation. The library of this society has received as a loan the diary of Captain David L. Dunham for the month of June, 1863. The chief item of interest is a description of his capture and imprisonment along with thirty-three other Confederates.

At a "Conference on the Development of Library Research Resources and Graduate Work in the Co-operative University Centers of the South," held in the Joint University Libraries building, Nashville, July 12-14, considerable attention was given to the problem of promoting the development of historical collections. Christopher Crittenden, director of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, led a discussion on the possibilities of closer relationships between state libraries and archives and university libraries; and Lester J. Cappon, of the University of Virginia, discussed state and local historical collections in relation to the university center.

The Mississippi Blue Book: Biennial Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor and Legislature of Mississippi, July 1, 1941, to July 1, 1943 (Jackson, 1944), contains a section of historical information (pp. 53-114) entitled, "Mother Mississippi, This State of Ours."

The Thirteenth Annual Report on Historical Collections, University of Virginia Library, published by the University, is a 70 page bulletin containing a detailed record of the manuscript, microfilm, and other research material acquired by the Alderman Library during the year 1942-1943. An introductory essay by Lester J. Cappon, consultant in history and archives, presents an extremely valuable exposition on the accession and arrangement of manuscripts and kindred materials in the Library, which should be of great assistance to librarians and archivists in other institutions where the nature of the problem has been less clearly understood.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1942-1943 (Volume 44-45. Washington, 1944, pp. vii, 392, \$3.50), edited by Newman F. McGirr, consists of papers presented at the meetings of the Society during the two-year period ending in December, 1943. Among those of special interest for southern history are: "Margaret Eaton (Peggy O'Neal)," by Allen C. Clark; "Civil War Recollections of a Little Yankee," by Harriet Riddle Davis; "Colonial Homes in West River Hundred," by William E. Richardson; "Pioneers in the Federal Area," by Gibbs Myers; "Unpublished Letters of Dolly Madison to Anthony Morris Relating to the Nourse Family of the Highlands," by Grace Dunlop Peter; and "Early British Diplomats in Washington," by Charles O. Paullin. Seventeen illustrations appear in this volume, and a complete subject index of the illustrations which have been published in the earlier volumes of the *Record*, compiled by Newman F. McGirr, secretary of the Society, provides a useful guide to a type of material too often overlooked by the historians.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "Controversy over the Command at Baltimore in the War of 1812," by Ralph Robinson, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September).
- "The Literary Treatment of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia," by Bertha Monica Stearns, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July).
- "Jail Bird Immigrants to Virginia," by Charles Edgar Gilliam, *ibid.*
- "Notes on Some Early Huguenot Settlements in Virginia," by Mrs. Patricia Holbert Menk, *ibid.*
- "Some XVII Century Virginians: Commentaries upon the Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison," continued, by Francis Burton Harrison, *ibid.*
- "Public Printing in North Carolina, 1749-1815," by Mary Lindsay Thornton, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (July).
- "The Tennessee Historical Society, 1849-1918," by Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (September).
- "Ezekiel Birdseye and the Free State of Frankland," by Henry Lee Swint, *ibid.*
- "Religious Activities in Civil War Memphis," continued, by Fred T. Wooten, Jr., *ibid.*
- "The Clarksville Compact of 1785," by Samuel C. Williams, *ibid.*
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